

MAY 1  
1945

# NEW MASSES

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## ***SAN FRANCISCO PRIMER***

**FDR AND SAN FRANCISCO**  
by Earl Browder

**THE NEW COLLECTIVE SECURITY**  
by John Stuart

**THE QUESTION OF COLONIES  
AND MANDATES**  
by Frederick V. Field

**ECONOMICS OF UNITY**  
by Ralph Bowman

**SENATOR LODGE'S HEIRS**  
by Bruce Minton

**WHEELS IN THE MACHINERY**  
by Virginia Gardner

**WHO'S WHO**  
by Virginia Shull

# BETWEEN OURSELVES

WE WERE about to begin our weekly stint on this column when one of our friends, a member of the music faculty of a metropolitan college, walked into our cubby in what Victorian writers used to call a high dudgeon. "Look at this damn story. It's enough to turn your stomach." We followed his finger as it picked out a headline in the afternoon paper he carried in his hand. "Luckner enters US lines to appeal for City of Halle." This count is suddenly worried about his city because it is the birthplace of Handel. Where was his pious regard for musical tradition when the cutthroats from Halle and other German cities were looting and wrecking the shrines of Chopin, Tchaikovsky and others? Listen to this." He read, "I cannot be proud any more of being a German. I am worried about what will happen to my ninety-year-old mother if the fight goes on." Before the war, Von Luckner travelled around the world as a propagandist for the Hitler government, but now he is no longer proud of being a German. It's funny how these — become anti-fascist the minute the bombs start falling in their backyards. As for his filial devotion, you can bet your last war bonds that he wasn't worrying about his mother when he was peddling the Nazi poison." He drew the paper towards me. "Just look at the space he gets—two columns down the center of the page, with his picture. Smiling and puffing his pipe. Aboard his yacht, no less, and a column carry-over inside the paper. And listen to this. 'I am not here as a traitor, you understand. Just trying to save lives.' He's certainly a sly dog, all right. Get the image. He's ashamed of being a German, but he is no traitor. He hates the cause he serves, but he's a soldier, a simple, faithful soldier who must follow his duty, wherever it may lead. That's the kind of sportsmanship Americans should fall for, he probably figures—and in some cases he figures right." There was no stopping our visitor. "These vermin are bad enough, but the sweet treatment they get in our press is just as sickening. This Heinz [W. C. Heinz, staff correspondent of the N. Y. Sun] must have been impressed by this little act, and maybe by his title, his American scrap books and his honorary American citizenship. It's time we stopped being courteous to these new-found Hitler-haters. They are no better than the most brutal of the Nazi plug-uglies and should be treated in kind."

With all of which we fervently agree, down to the last punctuation mark.

THE following letter was addressed to Joseph North, NM editor who has been in London and now is in Paris:

"I am enclosing a money order for \$45,

\$5 of which is for a renewal of my NM subscription for one year and the rest of which is a contribution from a group of officers and men 'somewhere in France.'

"The writer of this letter was one of the two GPs who were fortunate enough to meet you one evening at D. N. Pritt's country cottage. Since that meeting we have moved to France.

"NM is eagerly awaited and even more eagerly read over here. We think that it provides the best analysis of the news, the most honest and readable criticism of art, literature, theater, film. On one thing we are in complete agreement: NM treats the war and all questions relating to it as it deserves to be handled, always understanding the character of the struggle against fascism and always pointing out the concrete steps which must be taken to win the war and cement the unity of the United Nations in the postwar period. You don't become hysterical because the President, understanding that all classes

are playing their part in the war, chooses as some of his advisers some people who do not come up to the standards set by the *New Republic* or *PM*.

"Well, I could go on for a couple of pages. But I think you get the idea. Some of us have been reading NM for ten or more years and never during all that time has it ever let us down; the standards of 'our' magazine are as high as ever and if recent issues are a criterion, NEW MASSES with its new contributors, such as Louis Aragon, Earl Browder, Lewis Merrill and our old favorite Isidor Schneider, is even better than ever. We only wish we could have sent more than \$40. It is such a meager sum when weighed against what NM has given us.

"Fraternally,

"Sgt. R. G.

(Somewhere in France.)

"P.S. Today's *Stars and Stripes* mentions your swell magazine. Not much mention, it's true, but it indicates that we've gone a hell of a long distance since the days when the magazine was on the mustn't-touch list."

J. F.

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|                                                            |                    |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|----|
| FDR at San Francisco                                       | Earl Browder       | 3  |
| The New Collective Security                                | John Stuart        | 5  |
| Gropper's Cartoon                                          |                    | 7  |
| Cartoon by G. Holson                                       |                    | 10 |
| The Issue of Mandates and Colonies                         | Frederick V. Field | 11 |
| Economics of Unity                                         | Ralph Bowman       | 14 |
| Sen. Lodge's Heirs                                         | Bruce Minton       | 16 |
| Wheels in the Machinery                                    | Virginia Gardner   | 18 |
| Who's Who                                                  | Virginia Shull     | 20 |
| The Long Road to Peace                                     | Isidor Schneider   | 23 |
| Book Review: America's Far Eastern Policy, by T. A. Bisson | Frederick V. Field | 25 |
| In The World of Art                                        | Moses Soyler       | 27 |
| Zoya                                                       | Joseph Foster      | 29 |
| Notes on Music                                             | Frederic Ewen      | 30 |

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# NEW MASSES

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## FDR AT SAN FRANCISCO

By **EARL BROWDER**

**R**OOSEVELT had planned personally to open the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations. This was an expression of his intense interest in the long-term problems of the organization of a lasting peace. Perhaps he knew that his personal plans might be interrupted as they were, for he had taken pains to insure that the direction was established in advance for the solution of all vital problems. In a very real and practical sense, therefore, we can say that the spirit and wisdom of FDR will preside over the San Francisco gathering.

It was central to all Roosevelt's thinking and planning that victory and the peace to follow depended upon the firm consolidation of the leading Anglo-Soviet-American alliance, that without this keystone the whole structure of world organization would crumble. His supreme contribution to the world was the carving of this keystone for victory and a stable peace.

How ironical it is, then, that on the very day Roosevelt's body was being laid to rest a spokesman for "liberalism" should, in the course of eulogizing the departed Commander-in-Chief, point to his emphasis upon the key role of the alliance as a "weakness" which must now be corrected. But the deep wisdom of Roosevelt so completely overshadows the puny celebrations of Max Lerner and *PM* that even when they join hands with Vandenberg and Hoover to "correct" the great master on this vital point, they gain nothing in stature or puissance. Every word or act which weakens the Grand Coalition is a blow against the very foundation of the San Francisco Conference and a blow against Roosevelt's policy for America and the world. The spirit of FDR will be in San Francisco rallying the delegates, and behind them the peoples of the world, to his original plan without such specious "corrections."

At San Francisco the delegates of those small nations who have been taken in by the Vandenberg demagoguery

about strengthening their position in the projected world organization, by weakening the role of the Security Council, will finally have to face the choice of dealing with the great powers in such a framework as the Dumbarton Oaks plan, or dealing with them under the conditions of the absence of any such stable framework. Is there any small nation that really wants to return to the past in which small nations sought safety by playing off one great power against another? Let the ghosts of Belgium, Norway, Poland, step forth and testify as to what disaster lies inevitably at the end of such a path! May the small nations finally understand that the threat of "great power domination" today comes first of all and most menacingly from disunity of the great powers and not from their unity, from the disintegration of the Grand Coalition and not from its firmer consolidation at the head of the United Nations' organization.

Roosevelt had thought this problem through to the end, not merely from the viewpoint of the USA as a great power, but from the viewpoint of all peoples, great and small, from the viewpoint of gaining a stable peace without which all peoples will suffer greater catastrophes than those now approaching their end. That is why Roosevelt, after guiding the Dumbarton Oaks conferences to their ninety percent agreement on the world organization plans, was able to propose at Yalta the formula which completed agreement on the remaining ten percent, the voting powers and procedures in the Security Council. This basic structure will doubtless stand up under all the discussions of San Francisco, because it was formulated by the wisest statesmen of our time with a full knowledge of all the terms of the problem, because it is the only answer that gives fundamental stability to the projected world organization and provides the channel within which the will to peace and cooperation among nations can flow and gather all its powers. It provides the maximum of unity that is possible to achieve in this war-decimated world of today. And it is as true for the San Francisco gathering as it is for any meeting on a national or city scale that "policy is built upon the science of the possible" and not upon ideal abstract desires.

Such, obviously, were the considerations in Roose-

velt's mind when in the last weeks of his life he warned America and the world against the "perfectionists" who would try to pick his plan to pieces with "small amendments" which would have the practical effect of destroying the plan as a workable whole.

THE San Francisco meeting of the United Nations dare not fail. The alternative to full agreement in San Francisco is to release the powers of darkness and confusion once more over the world. With the basis of agreement already laid under the leadership of Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, an agreement in which America's great departed leader played the initiating role, this country must unite all its tremendous influence in the world for its final realization.

It is unfortunate but unavoidable that the American delegation to San Francisco is not by any means fully united. It is unfortunate because, thereby, the majority will of the American people is clouded before the eyes of the world and does not stand forth sharply and clearly. It is unavoidable because Vandenberg represents the minority in the Senate which holds a potential veto power over the majority, due to the peculiar constitutional structure of our governmental power. It was

necessary to appoint Vandenberg to the delegation because only thus could the full meaning of his reservations and amendments be brought to the consciousness of America and the world in all their damaging ramifications, the pressure of an aroused people be brought against his wrecking project, and his potential following in the Senate be whittled down below the dangerous one-third-plus-one level which holds the veto threat over the nation and the world.

The spirit of FDR will be in the San Francisco halls and committee rooms, uniting the delegates against all the agents and agencies of disunity and disruption. It will also be among the people everywhere, awakening and arousing them against the schemes of all enemies of unity. And in the White House, holding the presidential powers laid down by Roosevelt, will be the man chosen by him as his successor, who is solemnly pledged to carry through his policies, who has always been his firm supporter: President Truman.

Yes, in San Francisco also, we may confidently look forward to victory in the only way victory can ever be realized, through the unity and vigilance of the people in support of correct policy—the policy laid down for San Francisco by the great Roosevelt.

## President Truman

STANDING before the Congress for the first time, Harry S. Truman, the modest man with a staggering burden, spoke as the nation hoped he would and felt he would. His initial acts as President had already reassured the country when he gave it tokens of his faith in the policies of his beloved predecessor. He moved with decision to see to it that the San Francisco Conference would go on as scheduled. He conferred with military leaders. He asked Premier Stalin to send Mr. Molotov to the security meeting. In the first moments of shock and grief, Mr. Truman gave everyone confidence and the certain knowledge that he had assumed the presidential mantle with the same dignity and forthrightness which distinguished Mr. Roosevelt.

And in his speech to both chambers of Congress there was the additional reassurance for which not only the country but the world at large waited. He pledged himself to the Roosevelt program. "Our departed leader never looked backward," he said. "He looked forward and moved forward. That is what he would want us to do. That is what America will do." He would defend the Roosevelt ideals "with all my strength and all my heart." There would be nothing but unconditional surrender for our enemies. The war criminals would be punished. The coalition must remain to work out the peace and beyond. The over-all strategy of conducting the war would not be altered nor would the military leadership be changed or hampered. "Let me assure," he said in that Missouri twang of his, "the forward-looking people of America that

there will be no relaxation in our efforts to improve the lot of the common people." That was the way the new President and Commander-in-Chief dedicated himself.

And with his additional pledge that the Bretton Woods plan would receive his fullest support, with his endorsement of the Roosevelt trade policies, Mr. Truman rebuffed all the rumors, the fantastic speculation, the wishful thinking of the unreconstructed to the effect that the main currents of American foreign policy would be reversed. And by appointing the forward-looking St. Louis banker, John W. Snyder, as Federal Loan Administrator, and by shifting to the Commerce Department under Henry Wallace the disposal of surplus war property in the consumers' goods category he demonstrated his determination to carry on with the Roosevelt program of 60,000,000 postwar jobs and an expanding economy.

The rumors will persist, however, along with all the fantasies contrived by Mr. Roosevelt's old enemies. Without being asked, the clever little boys with the poison pens have already dismissed this or that cabinet official or pulled new appointees out of their back pockets. Mr. Truman will do what he must do and he will select whom he must. He has every right to choose the personnel through whom in his opinion he can best advance the policies to which he is pledged. As President, he will be judged not by a cabinet change or a change in the leadership of an administrative agency but by how well these changes speed attainment of the goals set by his great predecessor.

# THE NEW COLLECTIVE SECURITY

By JOHN STUART

## I.

FOR Americans of good will this is a proud moment. Our land has ever been rich in inventive genius, in all the skills that make for ease in living and progress in thought. Perhaps for every fearful moment we have given the world we have also given it moments of grandeur, of breath-taking gifts of science and cultural advance. But never has our country seen so dramatic a moment, when assembled from every continent are men and women with the task of shaping a better day for civilization. On our soil was born one of the great revolutions in human history. It was on our soil that the slavery of another day was crushed. And it is on our soil, this time transcending national boundaries, that we are the hosts of a meeting of nations eager to mold a new security.

And new it is in every vital respect. Let no one think that San Francisco is another shadow performance in which the plot and the principals are merely the ghosts of Versailles or Geneva. Collective security as an idea, or as an aspiration, is not new. It has sprouted before, failing miserably in critical tests until another failure would have meant the end of what we hold dearest in life. It is necessity such as the world has never known that brought the Grand Alliance into existence, and once established in practice that alliance has become the dynamo of new social forces steadily overcoming those that earlier made of collective security a tragic sham.

Towering above all else is one fact that is the key to San Francisco. A unity has been forged among the Allies in their war against the aggressors that coincides with the unity necessary against future aggressors. No world organization for security can hope to become a practical reality unless it reflects and embodies within its structure one of the essential elements in the equation of peace: that the total power of the peace-loving nations must at all times be greater than that of the power or powers which may transgress the peace. There, in part, is the substance of collective security which removes it from the mist of abstractions into the realm of reality. If its record is read correctly, the League of Nations was a glittering failure because its aggregate of power was never at any one moment larger than that which its opponents could collect. By excluding the Soviet Union from its formative years and because of the absence of the United States from its entire history, two major elements were missing to complete the peace equation thereby spelling the League's eventual doom.

Viewed from another angle the League, for all its pretensions to being worldwide, was merely in effect a gathering point for Great Britain and France and those smaller states in Europe which clustered around them. At San Francisco we witness a phenomenon fundamentally different. There

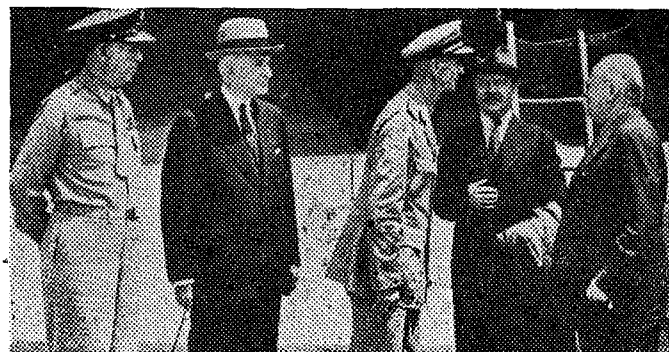
we have the framework of a genuine collective security, a machinery which excludes none of the great democratic powers but in fact provides the means by which their partnership can be exercised in the interests of peace.

The presence of the Soviet Union's representatives on the West Coast also marks a fundamental alteration of attitude among the leading states and among the remaining nations that comprise the Allied coalition. The League operated on a policy of excluding the USSR, and included it only when the League was nearing extinction. But equally important was the fact that the league for peace was, in its approach toward Russia, paradoxically a league for war. Divided between war and peace, it cancelled its value and fathered policies which violated the fundamental equation of peace and permitted the anti-Sovietes to dominate its councils. Nor did that hostility end when Moscow was at last invited to Geneva. The Colonel Becks sneered, and Litvinov, a pioneer architect of collective security, was assigned the chairmanship of the League's Committee on Seaweeds. Of all the duties that could have occupied his extraordinary talents, the Soviet foreign minister was asked to worry about keeping the Atlantic free from weeds interfering with shipping—an assignment which exposed the League's opinion of a state which did not even have an Atlantic port.

## Internal Policies

IN CONTRAST, the pivot of the new collective security is friendship for the Soviet Union and the willingness to cooperate with her despite the differences in social and economic systems. In other words, the ancient antagonisms artificially created toward the Russians, thereby helping Hitler enormously in his aggressive designs, are being wiped away and in their stead is the cooperation without which peace remains an unsolved riddle.

The essence of the new collective security lies also in the recognition that leading powers have special responsibilities in safeguarding the world's security. In the League the protective power was allocated to everybody and nobody. But the foundation of the new Security Council is the truism that squirrels cannot be expected to do the work of elephants although they can live in harmony, with each of them useful to the other. The war's greatest burdens have been borne by the great powers. And if the leading powers did not assume the guardianship of the world's safety, the task would devolve again on many single states scattered over the earth and lacking the industrial plant either to quell potential aggression before it breaks out into violent action



Soviet Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav Molotov being greeted by Gen. George Marshall, Secretary of State Hull, Admiral Ernest J. King and Ambassador Maxim Litvinov on one of his first visits to Washington.

or, when it does reach the battlefield, to fight aggressors to defeat.

All the foregoing changes distinguishing the new collective security from the old are again dependent on the basic international policies of the governments participating in the world security organization. The issue of policy is fundamental. No security machinery guarantees peace. Those who think so are innocent of the forces that make for war. Elsewhere in this issue are discussed the economic measures that will keep the peace on solid ground. But paralleling these economic measures are the political ones which on an international scale reflect the domestic programs of governments. Wendell Willkie once put it another way and put it succinctly when he said: "Whatever we do at home constitutes foreign policy and whatever we do abroad constitutes domestic policy." As an axiom of the interplay of external and internal policies, this applies to every state.

It would be too much to expect that the establishment of a security organization would end imperialist relations or that the participants in such an international organization would overlook their special interests. Security organization is not the panacea for all the world's ills and cannot of itself rectify the internal problems of a given government that drive it frequently to offend its neighbors or threaten peace. Security organization, therefore, is not the answer to all problems of security. But if national policies are firmly harnessed to the fundamental aspiration of the democratic peoples that the path leading to war be barred and internal policies be adjusted to the needs of peace, then there is a large common ground for averting war. When the national interest is dominated by peace and harmony then the national interest becomes part of the world community of interest in an orderly unfolding of the future.

To illustrate: Even had the United States participated in the League of Nations, US policies were such that it is highly doubtful that it would have been a force for peace. For Washington would have followed practices in the League no different from what it followed in Latin America under the banner of dollar and no-sense diplomacy. It would have sharpened the cleavage between Great Britain and France and between them and the United States—a cleavage Hitler took as the source of strength in his own strategy of ruling by dividing. The United States under the regime of Harding or Coolidge or Hoover would have occupied another place on the League's anti-Soviet benches and would have been another hand supporting those glaring injustices that led from impasse to impasse and finally to war.

## Europe's New Governments

How affairs have changed in our country since then! By reversing fundamentally the sterile practices of his predecessors, by his determination to prevent war, but not by the nostrums and the quackery of the twenties, Mr. Roosevelt altered the concept of national interest, as evidenced in his signature on the Teheran and Crimea pacts. He overturned the policy of aggrandizement that guided the three previous Presidents and made possible the structure of the new collective security because the world's most powerful capitalist state would assist in its fashioning. Moreover, this fresh approach to our neighbors and our friends abroad was rooted in an enlightened internal social policy whose central objective was the welfare of the common man—and the welfare of the common man is, at the minimum, peace.

In addition, collective security becomes basically new because of the internal character of the European governments, many of whose representatives are at San Francisco. Most of these governments are in transition, but the direction of their affairs is such that after the forthcoming elections their state leadership will primarily consist of the men and women who resisted fascism and helped in the liberation of their countries. When they were not outright collaborators of Hitler, the former leaders of these governments were, to put it mildly, timid souls who took refuge in futile power blocs which at very best hastened war. The new governments will be farsighted, they will be products of national union, they will be made up of the best representatives of the European labor movement who for years fought for a genuine collective security only to go down into temporary defeat. Now they have emerged at the top and their experiences gained during the war years will enable them to give an unprecedented stability to European political affairs.

Furthermore, the direction of their internal programs is to free the productive forces of their country, to slough off the feudal vestiges that made their economies weak and kept them from developing the means of national defense. Europe, minus the bankrupt and evil men who led it—Europe cleansed—can now add its weight to making security durable, for the policies of its separate nations will reflect more and more the interests of all the peoples within her domain instead of the gilded few. One need only see what is happening in Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia to recognize the signs of a peace that will weather many storms. While Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria or Italy will not be present at San Francisco they will in time be members of the security organization with their growing democratic policies aiding its operations instead of hindering as of old. Poland—whose provisional government, for no good reason, is kept away from the security conference—will serve as another example of how deep-going internal reforms help in the eradication of those forces that tied her to the German war machine by making her economy dependent on the Krupps and Thyssens. A profoundly democratic regime spells the end of Poland's role as a part of the *cordon sanitaire* and makes of her a bastion in the system of collective security.

YES, collective security can now be exactly that. It no longer need be a negative, narrowly defensive device. By encompassing the shrunken globe, the new collective security becomes positive because it is entrenched in a new relationship of world powers, whose united struggle has developed its own compelling logic—one of whose fundamental propositions is the United Nations. From that logic has come a resurgence of national aspirations which will not tolerate being smothered. With the false antagonisms between the capitalist and socialist sectors of the world rapidly dwindling, thereby eliminating a major cause of war nourishing the aggressors, security need no longer remain a dream. This sense of real security will penetrate our personal lives and the lives of our communities. It will give us a new sense of freedom that we can live out our days usefully without a dagger suspended over our heads, without a Europe spotted with the bestial concentration camps uncovered in the last few weeks by Allied armies.

Too optimistic? Then those who think so had better be

Right: MAY DAY, 1945, by William Gropper

May 1, 1945 NM



G. H. P. 52

prepared with alternatives to San Francisco. The only alternative is one that the world has already repelled violently—Munich. Too much to hope for? What other hope is there than San Francisco? Those who are not hopeful are letting blind spots take the place of their eyes. Beyond the innumerable flyspecks on the window, history is moving and its dominant trend is toward world unity. And those who look solely at the flyspecks fail to see what it means that President Truman pledged himself to carry on from where Mr. Roosevelt left off, fail to see the meaning of a Tito, or of the land reforms coming out of Warsaw, the meaning of the growing alliance of world labor. Here are some of the guide posts marking the beginnings of a new era.

There is a recessive trend. There is the reprehensible recognition of Argentina and the failure to act against Franco Spain. There are the statements of some men who, while they know the word of Christ, fail to comprehend its meaning and issue pronouncements in the name of Catholicism that can only hurt its believers. The hand of the past still lies heavily but it cannot grip and squeeze and choke as in the past. It can only make the conference at San Francisco more difficult to complete than it need be. And if what is now recessive should become dominant again it will not be because millions did not fight and work for the new tomorrow but because they did not do these things hard enough.

## II. THE FUTURE OF SMALL NATIONS

SAN FRANCISCO faces many difficult issues. Some of them are real in the sense that the Dumbarton Oaks Charter is not a perfect instrument. It cannot be and the quest for perfection is as profitless as the quest for first causes in metaphysics. The security conference is an initial but indispensable step in consolidating coalition unity through global organization. In time, there will be incorporated whatever changes fresh developments make necessary—changes to be made by common consent of the Allies in keeping with the fundamental principles outlined in the Dumbarton Oaks agreement. If San Francisco were to become an international clinic where those with messianic complexes reigned supreme, the result would be a fiasco. San Francisco cannot go beyond the political goals set for it at the preliminary conferences and reaffirmed during the Crimea meeting. To do so would be to undo the work already accomplished with the "revisionists" amending security into insecurity.

But there is one patently false issue that bounds forward time and again, an issue employed to brew tempests in teapots—the issue of the "fate" of small nations. Supposedly the new security organization will simply be a cloak behind which the great powers will reduce the lesser ones to the status of puppets or satellites. It is of course no mystery as to who chiefly promoted this humbug. A close look reveals that in this country it bears the imprint of Senator Vandenberg and Herbert Hoover—both old hands at refurbishing the old hypocrisies. Strange it is that those who tremble over the future of small powers are the very ones who, when they can do something for them, withdraw from the scene. The Bretton Woods Plan, for example, is of tremendous value to small nations. It can provide them with a modicum of financial security and keep them from total dependence on the whims of private bankers. Yet many of those who have appointed themselves guardians of small nations oppose Bretton Woods. They obviously have other fish to fry.

For some shrouded reason a whole mythology has grown

up about small states. Perhaps it's the word "small" that stimulates heartthrobs much as do kittens and babies. And "small" has been linked with virtue while "large" evokes the image of ruthless power and sin. The myth, of course, has nothing to do with the facts. Diplomatic history and particularly the history of the inter-war years reveals that small powers have committed political crimes as big or as little as those committed by France or Great Britain under Daladier or Chamberlain.

The mythology, however, is beside the point at this juncture. What should be borne in mind is that there is leadership among equals. Even in as democratic a federation of nations as the Soviet Union, where equality among the Republics is a matter of constitutional law and everyday practice, the Russian Republic, the largest of the sixteen, is acknowledged by all the others as the outstanding and is looked to for leadership. This comparison with a security organization which does not begin to approach federation status cannot be carried too far but it does indicate that size does not determine equality or inequality. Nor for that matter does size determine the degree of democratic development or the strength of a nation. But size certainly does not preclude harmonious relationships, particularly among countries with a mutual concern in preserving the peace.

Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union could not rule the world even if they wanted to and would not even if they could. It would mean the rise of a new tyranny and an era of new wars which would make a grandiose hoax of any plans for a genuine peace organization. To keep fascism from dominating the globe the Grand Alliance was born and its origins dictate the fundamental logic of the development towards greater understanding and confidence among the United Nations.

The strong point of the proposed security organization is exactly the fact that it corrects one of the major flaws of the League of Nations. It acknowledges that the great powers have a different role to play from that of the small and medium states, whose sole protection against aggression lies in accepting the leadership of the great powers for the peace as they have for the war. If the large nations are not united



Cordell Hull and Edward R. Stettinius of the American delegation.

in a common policy, then the smaller ones become pawns in a mammoth game of power politics. Then, with the inevitable advent of war, the midjets are consumed by the aggressive giant. The aggressor, however, must have a maw beyond human description if in attempting to gobble up a small state he must engorge the big ones as well. And that is well nigh impossible, as Hitler learned. Therein lies the essence of collective protection for the lesser powers, making possible their continued sovereignty and progress.

In terms of the Security Council's actual operations, the

small powers are not only adequately represented but in fact have a majority of votes—six out of eleven. They also vote in Council decisions involving the use of force except that under such circumstances, while the majority principle still prevails, the great powers must vote unanimously. Should, however, a state of affairs ever arise where four of the great powers act against the remaining one, then all the Security Councils in the world will not preserve the peace. The small nations, therefore, have a large stake in contributing to the unity of the big because it is on that coherence that their safety devolves.

## How They Feel

INTERESTINGLY enough, it is not the representative leaders of the small states who are anxious about their fate in a security organization. One has yet to hear from Marshal Tito, for example, that he fears a big power dictatorship. And it is the very men whose countries have suffered most from the past divisions among the leading democratic states who now recognize that such united big power leadership is vital. Consider the words of a Czechoslovak, Dr. Hubert Ripka, now Minister of Foreign Trade in the new government and until recently Minister of State attached to the foreign affairs department. "It is a matter of common sense," said Dr. Ripka in May 1944, "to realize that the chief concern of any worldwide organization will be the policy assumed by the great powers. If by the very nature of things the great powers have a more considerable influence than do the smaller countries, it should also be recognized, as a matter of course, that they can successfully assert their greater influence only if at the same time they are conscious of the greatest responsibility which devolves upon them. While we recognize the leadership of the great powers . . . we do so on the understanding that it is in accordance with their responsibility, and that it duly takes into account the principle of the equality of all nations, so that no suggestion of dictatorship arises."

Or take the remarks made by another small-nations leader, Carl J. Hambro, the last president of the League of Nations Assembly, the last president of the Norwegian parliament and now one of Norway's delegates to San Francisco. "Every small nation," he noted, "will have to give up the cherished idea that her influence on world affairs should be just as great as that of any other nation, and to accept as a fact that there can be no law of unanimity in a regulated international life, that it will no longer be admitted that the tiniest little state should have a right of absolute veto and be given the privilege of dictating to great nations, if only in a negative way, what their course of action should be."

"In any universal organization," he continued, "no matter what name be given to it, a few countries will have to bear the burden of carrying out the ultimate decisions of the world authority, and to those countries must be given, constitutionally, the formal power corresponding to their real and factual responsibility. . . . It is the demand of all the small nations that the leaders of the great countries shall be strengthened and not thwarted in their efforts, that they shall be upheld by the confidence of millions and be granted that helpful atmosphere of good will and well-wishing that can make their tremendous task possible. More and more clearly the small nations recognize that any attempt to disseminate distrust among these great nations, that any

appeal to national prejudice, to old jealousies and fears among the big countries, is a menace to every small state." (New York Times, January 23, 1944.)

It turns out, then, that those most "fearful" of the rights of small nations in a security organization are not by and large their leaders but others in Great Britain and the United States who use the synthetic small-nations issue to keep the



Commander Harold Stassen, of the American delegation, in the South Pacific.

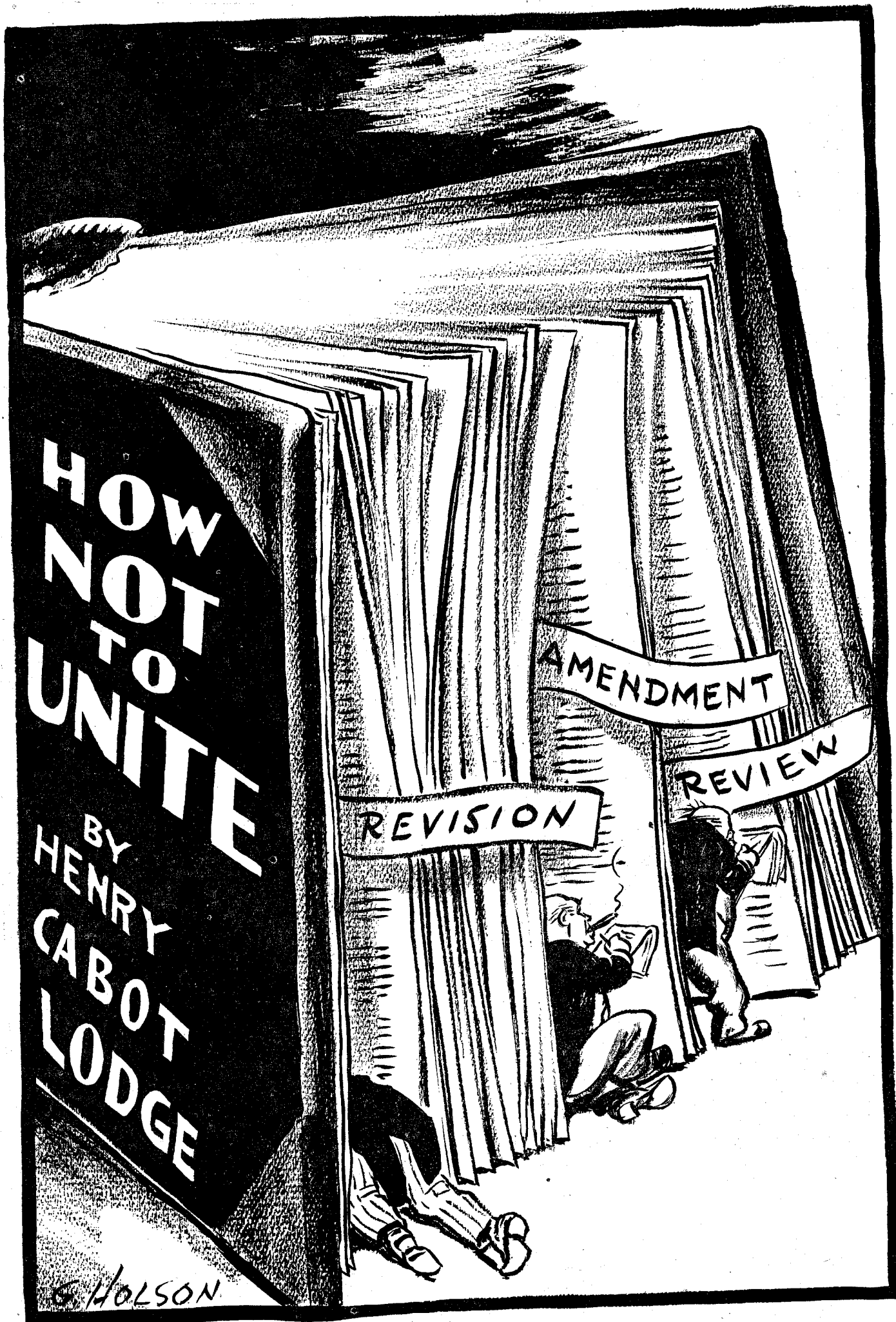
large nations divided by erecting small-state fences around each of them, especially the Soviet Union. They talk big about the small because talk is cheap, because it serves as a magnet attracting all the defunct figures of Europe. If they can be saved, then the small-state "defenders" can use them to delay and subvert the Continent's forward drive to a new day. This small-nations cant is old and hoary: if few believed Vandenberg and his friends when in this country

they suddenly became pleaders for the little man against federal "dictatorship," few will believe them now when they attempt to expand the same tactic to global proportions.

## III. REGIONAL AGREEMENTS

FEW will also believe Vandenberg when he proclaims that regional agreements cannot be squared with a universal organization. The truth is that there is nothing inconsistent with bilateral or multilateral pacts and the plan evolved at Dumbarton Oaks. That plan provides for regional groupings in Section C, Chapter VIII. "Nothing in the charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements or agencies are consistent with the purposes and principles of the organization. The Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional arrangements, either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council."

Here in essence is official recognition that there are special communities of interest whose existence is hardly incompatible with the operations of a security organization. Our country's Good Neighbor policy, for example, is a policy based on the regional interest encompassed by the hemisphere. And wherever a regional system does not become exclusive and recognizes the superior authority of the universal Security Council it supplements the security organization and gives it additional strength. The Act of Chapultepec, written at the Inter-American Conference in Mexico City and outlining a hemisphere security agreement against aggression, recognizes the higher authority of the world organization by proclaiming that all its dealings "shall be consistent with the purposes and principles of the general organization when formed." It is true, unfortunately, that several amendments offered at the Mexico City meeting for discussion at San Francisco would collide with the authority of the international Security Council by insisting that disputes within the



hemisphere be adjusted by "traditional American methods." This is an obviously dangerous recommendation which will meet heavy resistance. For if all the makers of regional pacts insisted on their special "traditional" way of handling potential breaches of the peace, the world organization would be undermined and replaced by inflammatory power blocs or closed systems.

On the other hand, if democratic regional agreements or bilateral treaties were prohibited by a security organization, that would be tantamount to restricting or impeding the independence of states in the conduct of their foreign affairs. When foreign policies are conducted within the framework of the general security organization, no one need fear bilateral or multilateral arrangements. In fact, there can be no limit to the number of such regional agreements made in the common international interest. Local measures add substance to the international and no one would suggest that the United States renounce its written understandings with Canada or Mexico because we participate in the world security organization. These specific treaties implement our defense.

By the same token all the criticism heaped on the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty or the French-Soviet treaty when they were made public was false. It assumed, for one, that the Soviet Union was substituting these anti-aggression measures for active collaboration in the general security organization. The contrary is, of course, true. Writing recently in the *War and the Working Class* (Number 6, 1945), the authoritative Soviet periodical, M. Nikolayev notes that while some of the Soviet bilateral accords were signed before the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, none of the participants in the conference ever suggested that these treaties were inconsistent with the Dumbarton Oaks plan. "Indeed," he writes, "what inconsistency can possibly be detected between the treaties and the contemplated basis of the future international organization which provides for the taking of measures 'for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace?'" Is this not the purpose, he observes, of the French-Soviet, Soviet-Czechoslovak and Anglo-Soviet treaties? And elsewhere in the same article he points out that the peoples of these countries have suffered too much from the war and cannot neglect any "supplementary guarantees for their safety against future German aggression."

The danger in regional organization comes when parties to them not only attempt to use them to replace international organization but to develop them in isolation from the rest of the world. The Soviet Union has given abundant evidence that it has no such intention. It was Stalin, for example, who recently suggested to a group of Poles that Poland not only sign a treaty with the Soviet Union but also with other countries of the west. And the new Polish-Soviet pact is a measure against aggression which includes participation "in all international activities directed toward the insurance of peace and security."

While the tory-minded are seemingly opposed to regional organization, they actually place the greatest emphasis on it, but for purposes other than those defined by the general security organization. Herbert Hoover recently proposed that "regional organization should be the foundation of the whole machinery [of peace] and that three regional groups be established—the Western Hemisphere, Europe and Asia." This is the new brand of isolationism on a continental scale. Hoover would partition the globe, thwarting thereby the establishment of a central alliance. From the point of view

of the security of the United States, there could be nothing more dangerous than continental blocs, for our interests extend wherever our trade and commerce go. And conversely, our interests are affected primarily by world politics and not solely by hemisphere affairs.

IN THE pages that follow other issues facing the security conference are brought into focus. On San Francisco have descended not only the emissaries of peoples with a will "to live together and work together in the same world," as President Roosevelt put it in an address he never was able to deliver, but also the utopians, the men with variegated and private perfectionist plans. These latter will do one kind of harm. The perfect world is not being made on the West Coast. It is only a better world with the first steps that need to be taken in its behalf. The other potential harm, far more serious, comes from those who, for all their masquerade, cannot really conceal their hatred of One World. If they are defeated at San Francisco by those who bear the hopes of untold millions, they will seek new opportunities. But they must never have them and they never can if unity prevails in our land and in the lands of all our friends. The fire of hope burns in all men of good will, and nothing must extinguish it.

## THE ISSUE OF MANDATES AND COLONIES

By FREDERICK V. FIELD

THE security conference will not solve the colonial problem as a whole. It may offer a solution to certain aspects of it, such as the disposition of enemy colonies, but there is very little likelihood that it will touch directly upon such concrete questions as the future of India, of the Netherlands Indies, of Indo-China or of Puerto Rico. San Francisco will not provide the final answer to these important questions. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the future of these areas constitutes a subject of major political importance.

The security conference is primarily organizational. It is not a peace conference nor is it within the province of the security conference to explore new political ground. While there are positive references to the colonial problem in the political framework within which the security conference is doing its work, it is common knowledge that one of the important questions on which basic agreement has not yet been reached by the leading members of the United Nations alliance is that of the colonial system. The United States' interest in seeing a rapid liquidation of the colonial system as a necessary part of world political and economic security is sharply opposed by the British government, which receives strong support from the other main colonial powers, France

and the Netherlands. These divergent views have not yet been reconciled. The conference delegates will not, therefore, be authorized to devise international machinery for the carrying out of any specific plan with respect to the colonial problem as such. But if San Francisco carries out the task assigned to it, it will have provided an international



**Secretary of State Stettinius with British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, head of the British delegation, on a recent visit to England.**

organization which itself will be able to find solutions to the vital problems of the colonial system.

The series of international conferences among the great leaders of the United Nations have reached conclusions and agreements which in their totality constitute the political mandate of the security conference. Not least of these was the first in the series, from which emerged the Atlantic Charter later incorporated in the Declaration of the United Nations of January 1, 1942. A large part of that Charter has a direct bearing upon the colonial question. It is pertinent, in thinking about San Francisco, to recall the pledges which read: "they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live"; and "they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security." The Dumbarton Oaks proposals, without referring specifically to colonial peoples, states that "the organization should facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." It recommends empowering the Economic and Social Council of the world organization with the right to make recommendations, "on its own initiative, with respect to international economic, social and other humanitarian matters." The Dumbarton Oaks proposals provide a machinery, either through the Assembly or the Security Council, whereby any questions relating to peace and security, or as it is stated with respect to the Council "any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute" may be looked into with a view to recommending (in the case of the Assembly) or taking (in the case of the Council) the necessary corrective steps.

Thus it is plain that if the delegates at San Francisco carry out the job assigned to them they will, without dealing directly with the colonial question, establish an international machinery designed to handle exactly the kind of frictions which we know will arise in the colonies until such time as the colonial system is dealt with directly.

There are two immense areas where in spite of a formal system of political independence the great mass of people live in a semi-feudal, semi-colonial condition. These are Latin America and China, where nearly 600,000,000 peo-

ple exist at substandard levels. To this category should be added vast areas in the Near East. To the nations and peoples comprising this classification the present perspective holds the promise of a degree of industrialization, a modernization of agriculture, improvements in health and education unprecedented in history. If the plans of Teheran and Yalta, of Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks are not sabotaged these enormous populations will have the opportunity rapidly to rise out of their present backwardness in the years immediately after the cessation of hostilities.

Over a third, however, of the world's total population remains subject to the colonial system proper. Most of these are under British, French and Dutch rule. All three colonial empires have solemnly pledged a program of economic and social reform. In all three cases, however, the reforms are to be undertaken within the system of empire and at a horse and buggy pace. Such programs are entirely inadequate to the needs of the postwar period either from the point of view of political security or from that of economic security. And if serious trouble arises in the postwar world it most likely will come from the continued oppression of the colonial people. The weak link, therefore, in the chain of postwar security will unquestionably be the colonies.

**T**HE problem of the colonies as it will make itself felt at the security conference requires a special type of definition. All colonial peoples are not at the same level of development or in the same relationship to their sovereigns. We must also first distinguish those colonial territories formerly held by the enemy. Germany entered the war without colonies, her former empire having been divided up among the victors of the First World War. But Italy before the present war had three African colonies, Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. These are today under British military occupation. Japan entered this war with a mandate over all former German island possessions in the Pacific north of the Equator.

A second classification of colonial territories comprises the former Turkish and German empires mandated to our present allies, Great Britain (and the British dominions except Canada), France and Belgium. There were three types of mandates. Class A comprises Syria and Lebanon, which were proclaimed independent by the Free French authorities in 1941; both will be represented at San Francisco. Their independence must remain inviolate. The other Class A Mandates are Palestine and Transjordan, mismanaged by the British for twenty-three years. They present a problem which cannot be settled at the security conference but which will doubtless come under the consideration of the organization which the security conference sets up.

The Class B Mandates are all in Central and East Africa, involve nearly 10,000,000 people, and are divided up among Britain, France and Belgium. The world cannot afford a continuation of the old mandatory system in the case of



**Clement Attlee, M.P. (Labor Party) and Deputy Prime Minister, of the British delegation.**

potential nations such as these. Through the long period between the two world wars the three nations responsible for these areas have demonstrated their unfitness to continue as sole authorities—a point which is not restricted to the administration of the Class B Mandates. At the very least, we must work for a system of international trusteeship which will rapidly bring these African people to the goal of nationhood. It is doubtful if concrete decisions respecting specific colonies such as these can be reached at San Francisco; it is urgently important, however, that the machinery of international authority be set up at San Francisco which the new security organization can itself extend to include jurisdiction over areas such as those just mentioned.

The last classification of mandates, Class C, includes the Japanese mandates already mentioned, Nauru and New Guinea in the Pacific mandated to Australia, and Western

Samoa mandated to New Zealand; and the former German colonies of southwest Africa mandated to the Union of South Africa. The latter's record is notoriously bad. There can be no lasting solution to the problems raised by the entire Class C group other than to turn them over to an international authority responsible to the world security organization. Any exceptions, such as that advocated by Admiral King and others in this country regarding the Pacific islands, will lead to a downward spiral of compromise that will result in the complete negation of international authority over such territories.

Except for a few special cases, such as the condominium over the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the above categories cover the peripheral aspects of the colonial problem. We are left with the heart of the question, the major colonies themselves, such as India, Indo-China, the Netherlands Indies, Burma,

## The Stake of the Jewish People

“No discussion of Palestine is expected at the San Francisco Conference,” writes Edgar Ansel Mowrer in the *New York Post* of April 19. At San Francisco, he tells us, the ghosts of the slaughtered European Jews will be pleading for the right of the million and a half that remain alive outside Russia “to get out of accursed Europe and find shelter in the land of Israel.” Most of these remaining Jews, Mowrer assures us, “want to go to Palestine,” and “no other country wants them.”

We believe that this approach, apart from its factual misstatements, does the greatest disservice to the Jewish people in Europe, Palestine and every other country. It is definitely not the approach of the responsible leaders of American and world Jewry. The American delegation at San Francisco will have among their official consultants representatives of two Jewish organizations, the American Jewish Conference and the American Jewish Committee. The former, from which the American Jewish Committee withdrew last year, is a broad representative body that includes almost every important Jewish organization in the country, from left to right, Zionist and non-Zionist, orthodox, reform and non-religious. Present at San Francisco will also be representatives of the World Jewish Congress, headed by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, of the British Jews, and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

The program of the American Jewish Conference, which is being presented to the American delegation for action at San Francisco, includes an international bill of rights, the outlawing of anti-Semitism, restoration to the European Jews of all their former rights, assistance in the resettlement of all displaced Jews, punishment of Axis crimes against Jews, and the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. It is possible that the Palestine question may also come up in the discussion of an international trusteeship for mandated territories, but the real solution of the Palest-

tine problem will have to evolve after the conference by agreement among the Big Three.

Neither Mowrer nor anybody else knows whether “most of the remaining European Jews want to go to Palestine.” Certainly a considerable number of them at this time do, and NEW MASSES heartily favors abrogation of the White Paper and unrestricted immigration into Palestine. But when Mowrer writes that “no other country wants them,” he is saying that after the destruction of Hitlerism, Hitler's principal weapon, anti-Semitism, will emerge triumphant in all countries. This attitude merely nourishes those Jew-baiters who would indeed rid all Europe and all other countries of Jews and convert Palestine into a world ghetto. As Sholem Asch pointed out in a recent article in the Yiddish daily, the *Morning Freiheit*: “Those who preach the exodus of the Jews from Europe unwittingly place the stamp of approval on Hitler's decree that Europe must become *Judenrein* (purged of Jews).”

We feel confident that the representatives of the American Jewish Conference are participating in the historic deliberations at San Francisco as good Americans, conscious of their country's world responsibilities, and as good Jews who understand that only through the continued unity of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, and only by erecting on that unity the new structure of world security can justice for the Jewish people everywhere be achieved. As the foremost leader of American Jewry, Rabbi Wise, said immediately after the Yalta Conference:

“The document of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin will go down through the ages as ‘Maxima Charta’—a charter of human freedom for all peoples who would be free, who would not be slaves. The early convening of the World Organization and Security Conference at San Francisco is symbol of the resistless will of the United Nations to translate theory into practice, creed into deed.”

the African colonies, the West Indies and Puerto Rico. The only principle that we can adopt toward these national groups is that at the earliest possible opportunity they must be given the right to determine their own destiny and that the other nations of the world must aid them to solve the complex problems which they will face in making the transition from colonialism to freedom. The major sections of the present colonial world are today ready to assume full responsibility for their own government. San Francisco will not and cannot decree that this be so, nor can it resolve the solution of any particular colony. What we must expect of it, however, is to provide the democratic world with an international instrument which itself will be capable of facilitating these decisions.

The issue of colonial freedom is a genuine one, one that ranks high in what must be done to ensure a world security system. It is an issue which commands the support of countless masses, here, in Great Britain and throughout the colonial and semi-colonial world. The same is true of all the other great, basic issues of our day. No one dare speak, for instance, against full employment. Yet we recall that our fascist enemies, whether they were Hitler or Mussolini or Tojo or Peron, raised the slogans of full employment. Not Hitler or Mussolini or Tojo's successor, for they are no longer capable of raising issues, but our own fascists, semi-fascists and demagogues will exploit the colonial question. And they will do it at San Francisco. They will do it within

the official delegations and they will do it from the outside. Why will they fly this banner? Surely not to advance democracy and assure the future of world security. No, they will bargain with the soul of one-third of mankind in order to wreck the work of the security conference, in order to confuse public support, in order to produce factions and divisions and cliques, in order to divert attention from the principal purpose which is to devise an organization which itself is powerful enough to help solve the colonial issue.

We may be as certain as we are of the day of victory that such divisive tactics will abound at San Francisco. And we must guard against them by being clear as to what is our own objective. We must not permit the ship which has so magnificently sailed from the North Atlantic to Teheran and back to Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks and again across to Yalta to be wrecked at San Francisco on the rocks of the colonial issue.

It will be our job as private citizens to see to it that the delegates successfully carry out their task. We recognize the vital importance of the colonial question. We recognize that not the solution but only the *method* of the solution of this question can be worked out at the security conference. If an international organization is established at San Francisco capable of meeting the criteria for world security outlined by the Atlantic Charter and by Dumbarton Oaks and the other historic conferences, that organization will be equipped to face the issue of colonialism.

## ECONOMICS OF UNITY

By **RALPH BOWMAN**

*The point in history at which we stand is full of promise and danger. The world will either move toward unity and widely shared prosperity or it will move apart into necessarily competing economic blocs.*—President Roosevelt, message to Congress on Bretton Woods proposals, February 12, 1945.

ONE of the fundamental differences between the efforts to safeguard peace after the last war and the efforts being made now (even before this war ends) is that we are now engaged in making certain that the economic foundations of peace are sound. The three men who met at Teheran and Yalta acted in accord with the primary laws of motion of human society and laid their plans in concert with the progressive currents of history. They took cognizance of the now recognized fact that economic warfare and international trade rivalry lead to the deterioration of political relations and pave the road to war.

Among the institutions to be created at San Francisco will be an Economic and Social Council, which will function under the General Assembly and consist of representatives of eighteen member nations to be elected by the assembly for terms of three years. This Council will, among other things,

carry out recommendations of the Assembly, make its own recommendations regarding "international economic, social and other humanitarian matters," and coordinate the activities of various economic, social and other organizations that may be brought into relationship with the world security structure—for example, an international food and agriculture organization and the two institutions of the Bretton Woods proposals: the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The economic organizations which are to be geared to the Economic and Social Council for the most part still have to be created.

The Bretton Woods proposals for a cooperative monetary and credit structure are, in the words of our late President, "the cornerstone for international economic cooperation." These proposals were emphatically endorsed by President Truman at his first press conference. Shortly before his death, Roosevelt also called on Congress to ratify the constitution of a proposed food and agriculture organization of the United Nations. In another message he recommended a further step toward economic cooperation through the reduction of tariffs and stated that additional measures will be taken in the immediate future on the vital economic problems facing the world. One of these measures was revealed by Secretary of State Stettinius in a recent significant address before the Council on Foreign Relations in Chicago when he announced plans for convening a conference of active trading nations to consider the problems of international commerce and to set up a permanent world trade organization.

THE importance of the Bretton Woods proposals in helping to create a prosperous and peaceful world is so widely recognized and has been so recently discussed in NEW

MASSSES (see my article, "The ABC of Bretton Woods," April 17) that it needs no further emphasis here except to point out that rejection by Congress of the Bretton Woods bill now before it would be one of the heaviest blows struck at the San Francisco Conference. Probably no less important than Bretton Woods is the contemplated international trade organization. World trade is no longer a simple exchange of goods and services. Increasingly it is the medium of the export of capital in the form of credits, loans and investments. In the pre-war cartel-ridden world international trade was warped by such phenomena as high monopoly prices, barter arrangements, restrictive production quotas, blocked currencies, the forcible retardation of the economic development of large areas, and the maintenance of reactionary regimes and semi-feudal ruling castes in economically backward countries. World economic cooperation and planning was impossible because the major portion of the globe was dominated by competing capitalist-imperialist powers, among whom were the predatory fascist states, Germany, Italy and Japan, which were utilizing foreign trade as a preliminary instrument of war, while the Soviet Union was excluded from active participation in the solution of international economic and political problems.

In considering the possibility of planned, cooperative international trade and investment in the postwar period, what assurance is there that the old competition for limited and shrinking markets and the degenerative elements inherent in private enterprise society will not again reassert themselves and determine the future character of world commerce? There is no doubt that this danger still exists. Capitalist economy contains the overwhelming mass of modern productive capacity. More than half of the world still lives under colonial, semi-colonial and feudal conditions. In Britain and the United States, and on a diminishing scale elsewhere, small but powerful reactionary groups carry on a furious opposition to all forms of international cooperation. However, these and other negative and potentially negative factors are on the decline while positive factors are on the ascendant. Consider for a moment the wholesome effects on world economy of the permanent elimination of the predatory menace and disruptive economic role of German, Japanese and Italian imperialism. Consider too the full significance of the economic and political cooperation between the powerful socialist society of the Soviet Union and the democratic capitalist nations.

These two momentous new factors are of such immense progressive significance that it is safe to say that they condition the transition to a new epoch of human history. The final defeat of fascism will be more than the military victory of democratic nations over reactionary states. In terms of the future economic well-being of the world, it will mean the immediate freeing of the artificially arrested economic development of over a score of nations and colonial areas. The first effects of this liberation can already be seen in Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Finland and Italy, where anachronistic feudalism is being dissolved at varying speed. Great landed estates, the medieval fountain-heads of hopeless, hereditary poverty, are being parcelled out among the hitherto landless peasantry. Large numbers of free, independent farmers are being created overnight. The economic foundations of a new democracy and of prosperous domestic markets are being laid. This constitutes a peaceful agrarian revolution of vast dimensions and incalculable democratic potential. And these are only among

the first irrevocable effects of the liberating war. Others will follow, among them new types of democratic government and varying measures of nationalization and social regulation of basic industries. Thus, under the terrific impact



Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., of Britain, with Harold Ickes.

of this war, the old fascist-imperialist and semi-feudal barriers to the normal evolution of productive forces through industrialization are being broken down. The world is on the threshold of a tremendous upsurge of industrialization far greater in scope and magnitude than the English Industrial Revolution at the turn of the eighteenth century. This and the changed role of the Soviet Union are the historically new and unprecedented conditions that make possible an almost limitless ex-

pansion of world trade. Some timid, and some reactionary forces in the leading capitalist nations, particularly the United States and Britain, view this whole-some perspective with foreboding, fearing that it contains a threat to the entire capitalist system. They are unduly alarmed. There is now, in fact, the real possibility of a new lease on life for the latent creative forces of capitalism, opening a period of useful service to mankind. The chief historically progressive contribution of capitalism lay in raising the wealth producing capacity of mankind; its degenerative tendency was manifested in the artificial and forcible retardation of this process and the subsequent generation of imperialist wars.

The two foremost capitalist nations, America and England, have experienced a vast increase of productive capacity during the war (up to fifty percent in US), especially in the machine building industry (precisely what the world market needs), far in excess of the requirements of their respective domestic markets. Enlightened statesmen, industrialists, bankers, economists and labor leaders recognize that vastly increased foreign trade is one of the chief conditions for maintaining full employment and full production of our war-expanded national enterprise. There is a growing awareness that the central contradiction of the capitalist mode of production—the substantial excess of goods and services produced annually over what the consumers' income can buy—can only be resolved now by finding new domestic and foreign markets. Otherwise full production and employment are impossible.

But world trade is a two-way exchange of goods, we are told, and the exchange of our surpluses for an equal volume of goods from abroad will not solve the problem. This is true, but only over a long period. Full production and a mounting national income in a capitalist economy generate ever larger quantities of profits which in earlier times were invested as constant capital in new domestic industries. There is little room in our economy for any large-scale investment for some time to come, due to the unprecedented wartime expansion of our industries. This annually generated profit, or new capital, must find new fields of profit-

able and safe investment or else remain idle to generate new depressions. The newly created and unlimited markets provide the logical stable investment opportunities for this fresh capital. The borrowing nations, very much like any new domestic enterprises, will be required not to repay at once the total capital investment or loan, but only the interest on the total sum. This is all that any creditor or investor normally requires, besides a reasonable assurance that payment of interest will continue over a long period, with gradual amortization of the principle. To the borrowing country this capital will make possible a new industry or plant with a substantially increased wealth-producing capacity, while it will not be forced at once to export goods to the full value of the imported machinery bought with the loan, but rather, the equivalent of the agreed-upon interest plus amortization.

Thus we see that the key to a greatly expanded foreign trade is the export of capital in the form of long-term credits, loans and investments abroad, to enable the economically undeveloped nations to buy our surplus goods in order to increase their productive capacity and raise their living standards. This procedure is essentially not new; it is the normal mode of capitalist disbursement of profits in the form of capital investment in an expanding economy, but now extended on an increasing scale beyond the borders of the nation—in contrast to the earlier period, when such investments were largely confined within our borders. What is new are the political and social conditions which make such large-scale export of capital feasible and materially beneficial.

A new type of creative international trade and durable world prosperity is within our grasp. Its realization is possible, but it will not come about automatically. It can be achieved only on the basis of genuine, long-term agreement

and cooperation of the three great world powers, the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, supported by all the United Nations. This perspective calls for the adjustment of the harmful economic rivalry between the United States and Britain in the cooperative give-and-take spirit displayed at the Bretton Woods Conference. The Anglo-American economic rivalry threatens postwar stability and it requires agreements between the two nations that would relieve the British of their present fears by guaranteeing them an equitable share in the vast postwar markets. The perspective of flourishing trade and an expanding economy also calls for the defeat of the shortsighted views of important sections of big business expressed by the economic isolationists of the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Bankers Association and their spokesmen in Congress. The San Francisco Conference will lay the political foundations for a peaceful world. But if the new security structure is not buttressed by the projected international economic organizations and fully accepted in good faith by the three major powers, the alternative will be the gradual return to uncertainty, chaotic economic rivalry, depressions and new wars.

At this moment the United States holds the key to a peaceful and cooperative world. Our participation and leadership are indispensable. But it is precisely in our country that the forces of reaction are conspiring to defeat the entire plan. Our late President understood the crucial role of America in banishing war and poverty. His last messages to Congress and to the people were urgent pleas to place our country in the forefront of the endeavors to remake the world in the image of cooperation. It behooves the American people to exert their utmost energies to fulfill this last political will and testament of our departed President.

## THE HEIRS OF SENATOR LODGE

By **BRUCE MINTON**

*"The conference in the Crimea was a turning point in American history. There will soon be presented to the Senate of the United States and to the American people a great decision which will determine the fate of the United States—and of the world—for generations to come. . . . We shall have to bear the responsibility for world collaboration, or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict."*—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Report to the US Congress, March 1, 1945.

EVERY expression by the American people since the Crimean declaration has borne out President's Roosevelt's judgment that our people are determined to bear the responsibility for world collaboration. A major part of that responsibility is participation in the proposed international security organization. Daily there is proof that Americans stand overwhelmingly behind it.

For example, the townspeople of 225 New Hampshire

communities voted 13,847 to 751 in favor of the Dumbarton Oaks charter. At Swarthmore, Pa., 1,339 residents approved American participation in a world security organization and only twenty-eight were opposed. States and cities—among them Massachusetts, Milwaukee, Los Angeles—have set aside a week or more to study the Dumbarton Oaks charter. The CIO has devoted the month of April to promoting understanding of the United Nations and the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The American Labor Party of New York has sponsored a statewide petition campaign in support of Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks. Fraternal and community groups too numerous to list have planned and are conducting discussions of the San Francisco Conference and the problems of winning a stable peace.

The people's desire that out of the sacrifices of the war shall come stability and security has forced the most bitter opponents of international collaboration carefully to conceal their disruptive intent. Opposition to the San Francisco meeting has been oblique, concentrating on elaborate hair-splitting, on recondite technicalities and bearing down heavily on appeals to bigotry and narrow nationalism. It is remarkable how many former appeasers, isolationists, Red-baiters, Anglophobes, America Firsters, advocates of negotiated peace and racists have suddenly grown worried over the "best interests of mankind."

The tactics of the would-be destroyers of a peace organization are instructive: so overwhelming were the first eager responses to the joint Crimean declaration that the enemies of the grand alliance decided the better part of valor would



**President Roosevelt and Foreign Commissar Molotov (head of the Soviet delegation).**

be to greet the joint report of the Big Three with a phrase or two of grudging praise. Thus Herbert Hoover led the way with a frigid bow of seeming tribute. Only the repudiated Polish junta in London dared to squawk for the first week following the declaration. And as James F. Byrnes, former War Mobilization Director, remarked: "How many Poles are there in London?" Of course, the Scripps-Howard, Hearst and McCormick-Patterson press raged, as did Radio Berlin.

Two weeks passed before Sen. Hugh Butler of Nebraska launched the first full-dress attack sponsored by the reactionary high command of the Republican Party. Butler scored the "secrecy" at Yalta, flatly declared that the United States had been made a dupe by its allies, and rebuked President Roosevelt for not taking Congress into his confidence—the rebuke being administered before the President arrived back in this country from Yalta. The following day, Senator Wheeler provided the German propaganda office with an excellent "line" when he declared that the Yalta Conference proved "the principle of brute force is now the criterion of future action in world affairs." Senator Walsh of Massachusetts, formerly of America First, mourned for the London Poles and announced that the world was now at the mercy of "Red imperialism."

**A**LL this was too obvious to affect the majority of Americans. Therefore, after the President made his report to Congress, there began a more subtle campaign to confuse, mislead, divide and disrupt. The first opportune "issue" was the fall of the Radescu cabinet in Rumania which was replaced by the democratic government of Peter Groza: "PLOT TO BALK YALTA SEEN," the headlines announced. This so-called crisis indicated, said the hopeful defeatists, a growing split among the great powers—attributable, of course, to the sinister Stalin. It was freely predicted that the Dumbarton Oaks plan would never survive this "quarrel"—and naturally under the circumstances the San Francisco Conference could hardly be held.

The lies and innuendoes about Rumania were stage-setting. More elaborate was the controversy over Poland. The Polish "question" was seized upon as a reason for repudiating the San Francisco meeting before it could assemble. Excitement was whipped up over the Polish Provisional Government's request, supported by the USSR, that it be invited to San Francisco.

The campaign to denigrate the Dumbarton Oaks proposals now shifted to high gear. Attack flared from all sides—from Senator Vandenberg's qualms of conscience over his "freedom of action" when he was appointed a member of the United States delegation to San Francisco, to the "insult"

seen by the Hearst press when the Soviet Union initially appointed Ambassador Gromyko to head its delegation. Anything that confused, anything that injected a defeatist note, anything that encouraged the American people to forget the central purpose of the security organization and that involved them in fruitless debate over technicalities was seized upon and exploited. The plan for voting within the Security Council, announced on March 6, was worried over and "analyzed" until the obstructionists discovered "evidence" that the great powers would act as dictators over the smaller nations. The outcry over the sovereignty of small nations looked so propitious that Senator Vandenberg took it up. At this point Prime Minister Churchill rose in Parliament to remark: "We may deplore if we choose that there is a difference between the great and small, between the strong and weak in the world. There is undoubtedly such a difference and it would be foolish to upset the good arrangements proceeding on a broad front for the sake of trying to attain immediately to what is a hopeless ideal."

The crocodile tears over the small nations were still falling copiously when the Soviet Union's request for membership for the Republics of the Ukraine and Byelorussia in the security organization became known. The fact that the Soviet Union was actually forwarding the national autonomy of small nations, and that it was also acknowledging the importance of the proposed General Assembly, was of course ignored by those who cling to the Bolshevik bugaboo almost as desperately as does Goebbels.

The campaign continued. The issue of trusteeship of colonies was represented as unsolvable and gave the advocates of predatory American imperialism an excuse to attack our British and French allies. The real drive, however, began to center on the Bretton Woods agreement, submitted to the national legislature by President Roosevelt on February 15, immediately after the Crimean Conference. The President urged confirmation before the San Francisco Conference. Those who control the American Bankers Association joined with the oppositionists in Congress, led by Sen. Robert Taft, and began endless hearings in the House on the Bretton Woods bill. The administration abandoned hope for a pre-San Francisco vote on this important instrument to promote orderly economic and financial cooperation



**Ambassador Andrei Gromyko, of the Soviet delegation, shaking hands with Paul Robeson at a Soviet Embassy reception.**

on a world scale. The House delay is calculated to discourage the members of the United Nations already concerned about whether the United States Senate will ratify an international peace organization. At the same time the spectacle of the disrupters using the old tricks of reservations and amendments to hamstring the Bretton Woods agreement is a warning to the American people that a few wilful men can wreck international collaboration.

As a pre-San Francisco climax, the disrupters moved up their big gun—the elder statesman, Herbert Hoover. In a series of four articles, Hoover attacked the USSR,

pleaded for mercy for the defeated fascists, proposed a "plan" to substitute regional agreements (and Hoover means spheres of influence) for the world security organization, and suggested that the American representative of the organization be denied all power to use force against aggression. Reaction hailed Hoover, the grand old prophet of depression and despair, for these statesmanlike contributions—and Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* demanded that Hoover accompany his proxy, Vandenberg, to San Francisco with the American delegation. Vandenberg himself proposed several amendments to Dumbarton Oaks which sought, in different language, to achieve the Hoover objectives.

The Hoover series was followed by rumors that the San Francisco Conference would be postponed because of rising Big Three "disagreement." Actually, the Big Three were collaborating more closely than ever, both militarily and politically. The rumor of postponement was expected to convince Americans even before the conference that their hope for a peace organization was merely an idle dream. So well did this rumor campaign work that even such a usually constructive writer as Walter Lippmann took up the suggestion that the conference be postponed. Only the pronouncements of the foreign offices of each of the Big Three finally put an end to this propaganda.

At this point came the tragic death of President Roosevelt. The enemies of San Francisco, who had done so much to make the President's burden too heavy for any mortal to

bear, were, however, cut short in their speculations when President Truman, within an hour of taking the oath of office, announced the conference would be held as scheduled.

President Roosevelt left a precious legacy to the nation. But President Roosevelt also knew that international organization for peace did not—and could not—depend on one man or one nation. President Truman has pledged his efforts to bring success out of the San Francisco Conference—and the conference itself is the outgrowth of American national policy, the result of necessity and experience. It would indeed be a tragic irony if the nation's love for President Roosevelt could be used by his enemies to defeat his dearest plans, to destroy what the American people desire so profoundly.

The road ahead is long and dangerous. Beyond the problems to be met and solved at San Francisco is the struggle for ratification. That is the reason the town meetings, the CIO's month of discussion, the radio broadcasts, the programs arranged by the YWCA and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the activities of church groups and all similar efforts are so meaningful. The way to defeat the confusionists is through knowledge and understanding. President Roosevelt expected to turn to the people when the time came for asking the Senate to ratify the results of San Francisco. It is to the people that President Truman will turn. It is the people who will determine whether the United States will take its rightful place in the coalition of nations.

# WHEELS IN THE MACHINERY

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

THE Dumbarton Oaks proposals, published in pamphlet form and sent on request by the State Department, occupy only a few pages. They are streamlined proposals and their simplicity means but one thing: a realization by the great powers that the success of the organization does not depend on its formal setup and regulations but primarily on the will of the nations involved. This being the case, the agreements covering the machinery of organization are meant to contain the irreducible minima of stipulations. The simpler they are, the more flexible. Conditions of today will change. That is why there is a paucity of definitions and regulations which so burdened the League of Nations Covenant and which provided such a fertile field for the Henry Cabot Lodge who attacked, like their present-day counterparts, through amendment and revision. The agreements, in other words, do not pretend to establish a perfect organization.

Membership in the security organization is open to all peace-loving states with the organization itself to be comprised of four major organs—a Security Council, a General Assembly, a Secretariat, and an International Court of Justice.

**The Security Council.** This is the heart of the general organization. Its paramount task is to maintain peace and it is to be composed of one representative from each of eleven states. Five of them—Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, France and China—are to be permanent members. The General Assembly elects the six other member states for a term of two years. The Council is empowered to: (1) investigate any dispute or problem which may lead to conflict or create a dispute; (2) ask states to settle their differences by peaceful means of their own choice; (3) take economic or diplomatic measures to give effect to its decisions; (4) recommend to states procedures and methods of adjusting disputes; and to (5) employ land, naval and air forces to maintain or restore peace if other measures become inadequate.

The voting procedure in the Security Council is as follows: all decisions not involving the use of force are to be made by a majority of the Council's membership. In situations involving force the majority principle still prevails but the five great powers must be in unanimous agreement. The use of forces made available by all the members of the United Nations will be decided by the Security Council with the advice and assistance of a Military Staff Committee directly responsible to it. The Committee is made up of the chiefs of staff of the Big Five or anyone else they may delegate and provides also for the participation of other nations when the occasion demands. All member states are obligated to provide the Security Council with specified numbers and types of armed forces.

**The General Assembly.** The Assembly will consist of representatives of all nations that are members of the security organization: that is, even though eleven states are represented on the Security Council they also have membership

in the General Assembly. The Assembly has the right to consider and discuss any question relating to the maintenance of international peace brought before it by any member or by the Security Council. It can also make recommendations in regard to any of these questions. The Assembly cannot on its own initiative make recommendations on security proposals which are being dealt with by the Security Council. In addition to the Assembly's right to admit new members to the security organization on the recommendation of the Security Council, it is also empowered to suspend any member of the organization against which preventive or enforcement action is taken by the Security Council. The Assembly also elects the nonpermanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council and has the power to initiate studies and make recommendations for the coordination of the policies of international economic and social agencies. While no definite relationship has as yet been determined between such agencies of the Bretton Woods plan as the International Monetary Fund or the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, it is not unlikely that such agencies will be responsible and attached to the Economic and Social Council.

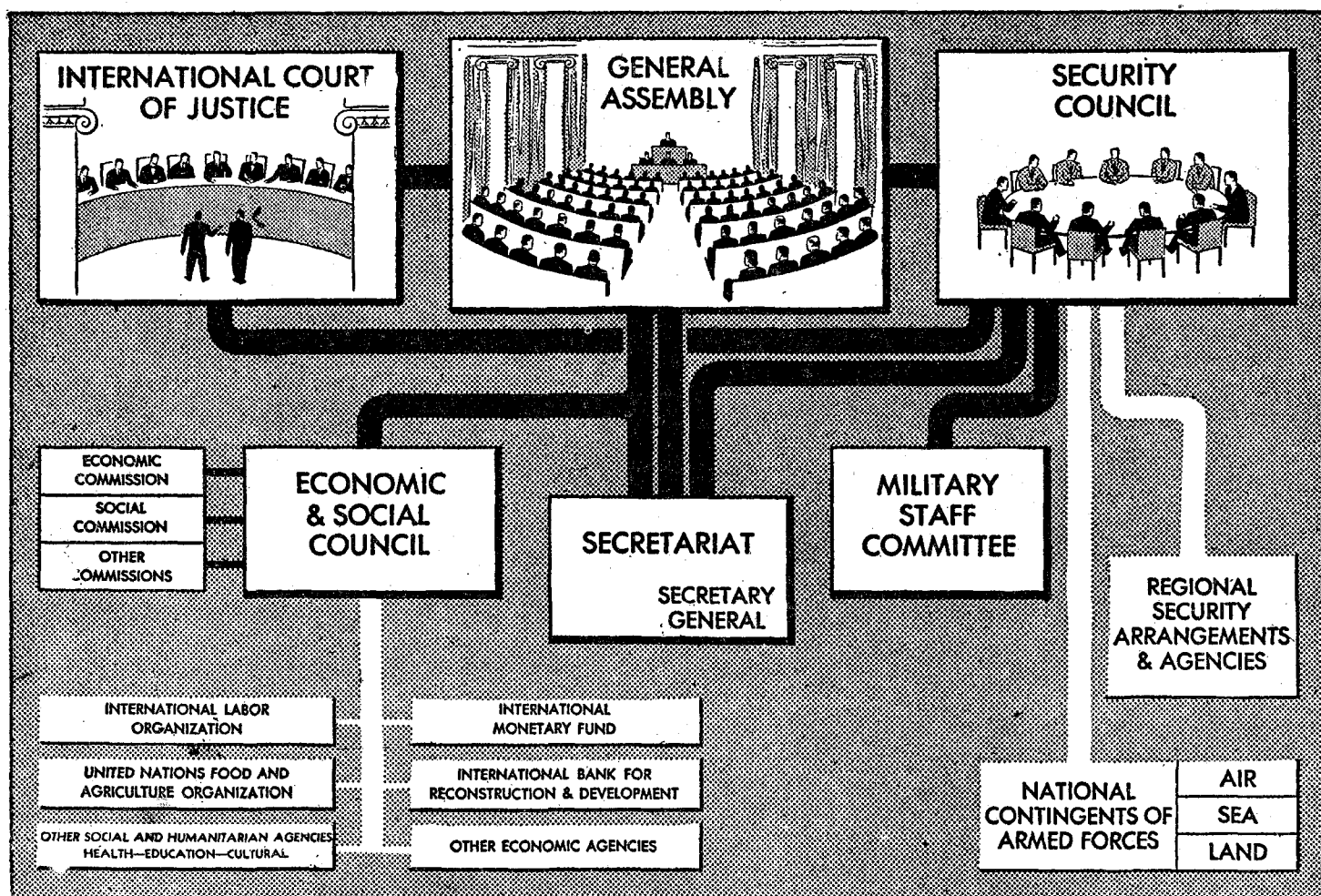
As for voting procedure in the Assembly, major decisions are to be made by a two-thirds majority of all those present and voting, all other decisions by a simple majority vote.

**The Economic and Social Council.** This branch of the General security organization is directly responsible to the General Assembly. The ESC will cover such matters as receiving reports from other social and economic agencies of the general organization, will examine the budgets of

these agencies and in general serve as coordinating body of the economic and social projects decided upon by the General Assembly. The ESC's membership consists of the representatives of eighteen nations, who are elected by the General Assembly for a term of three years.

**The International Court of Justice.** This is the chief judicial organ of the organization. The Dumbarton Oaks plan proposed that (a) the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice established in 1919 be the model for the new court or (b) that the PCIJ continue with whatever modifications are necessary. A committee of jurists representing forty-four of the United Nations met in Washington before the San Francisco meeting and decided to recommend to it that: (1) the Court function at the Hague as did its predecessor; (2) judges be nominated to the Court either through diplomatic channels or nominations be made using the old World Court procedures; (3) all nations be asked to subscribe to compulsory submission of specified disputes or that an option clause be inserted in the new Court's statute which would permit countries to participate in the Court without binding themselves to submit all disputes of a given nature to the Court's jurisdiction.

**The Secretariat.** This organ is composed of a Secretary-General and his staff—all functioning as the administrators of the security organization. The Secretary-General is to be elected by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. He will also issue the organization's annual report and has the right to bring to the Security Council's attention any matter he believes threatens the peace.



State Department Chart of the proposed divisions of the United Nations organization. White lines indicate that the relationship of the additional bodies is yet to be determined.

# WHO'S WHO

By VIRGINIA SHULL

*The San Francisco Conference is a conference not only of ideas, but of human beings. So that NEW MASSES readers may have some idea of what the leading delegates are carrying to San Francisco besides their portfolios we offer below a file of thumbnail sketches of the main figures in the delegations of the USA, Britain, the USSR, France and China.*

**For the USA:** *Cordell Hull*, whose historic visit to Moscow in October of 1943 laid the cornerstone for the work which has culminated in the San Francisco Conference, will not be able to attend the opening sessions. His letter to Secretary of State Stettinius explaining that he will arrive later if his health permits, expressed his profound faith that "whatever the difficulties, the labors of the conference will be crowned with success." Calling the meeting of the United Nations "one of the great turning points of history," he said, "We of this day and age are offered an opportunity which, once lost, may never recur. It is an opportunity to build for ourselves and for the future generations a structure of international relations that will, at long last, give humanity a tangible hope of enduring peace. . . ."

*Secretary of State Stettinius*, who leads the American delegation, takes with him the prestige of conducting the Dumbarton Oaks parleys successfully, and the experience of the Yalta Conference. He recently put some doubting Thomases in their place by stating flatly that the San Francisco Conference *had* to succeed.

The congressional section of the American delegation includes the chairmen and chief minority representatives of the Foreign Affairs committees of both Senate and House: *Rep. Sol Bloom*, Democrat, of New York, chairman of the House committee, has a consistent pro-Roosevelt record. *Rep. Charles A. Eaton*, Republican, of New Jersey, goes to the conference with a good voting record on foreign affairs. *Sen. Tom Connally*, chairman of the Senate committee, whose farewell speech to the Senate as the delegation was about to leave was splashed in the headlines to convey the idea that Connally thought the conference had limited objectives, actually spoke with a real sense of the responsibility which rests on the American delegation. He has worked in the Senate for bi-partisan support for Dumbarton Oaks and the Yalta agreements and his words of warning that we should not expect the conference to "bring back an instrument embodying perfection," also included his own declaration of faith: "I have every hope and every confidence that in the main outlines we shall be successful in laying the foundations of an edifice, which through the years, by amendment or modification may meet the high ambitions which we entertain." The fourth figure in the congressional quadrumvirate, *Sen. Arthur Vandenberg*, whose utterances even until recently have reminded the American public of Henry Cabot Lodge, goes knowing that the American public is watching him with Senator Lodge in mind. With Vandenberg goes the inheritor of Wendell Willkie's mantle in the Republican Party, *Commander Harold Stassen*. The last delegate for the USA is a figure well known in international university life, *Dean Virginia Gildersleeve* of Barnard Col-

lege. The American delegation will vote as a unit, and went on record, before they departed, that they were in substantial agreement on all major points.

**For Britain:** The head of the British delegation, the *Rt. Hon. Robert Anthony Eden*, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is one of the great diplomatic travelers among the delegates. A first-class honors student at Oxford University in Oriental languages, he decided on a political career while still in the university. He began his diplomatic travels not long after he entered the Foreign Office in 1926, frequently attending conferences at Geneva and elsewhere. In 1935 he went to Moscow, where he first met Joseph Stalin. In 1938, having become Neville Chamberlain's Foreign Secretary, he resigned in indignation at the Prime Minister's policy of appeasement. Since the British declaration of war in 1939 he has served as Secretary of State for the Dominions, and Secretary of State for War, before returning as Foreign Secretary for the second time in 1940. In that year he flew to the Middle East, visiting Turkey and Egypt, and for the second time, the USSR, where he laid the groundwork for the Anglo-Russian treaty, which he later signed for his country in 1942. In the last two years he has flown to Washington, Quebec, Algiers, Moscow, Cairo, Teheran and Yalta in the creation of the coalition which made the San Francisco Conference possible.

*Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, Lord Halifax* and his Majesty's Ambassador to the USA, goes to San Francisco as the living embodiment of what a section of Tory England has learned in five bitter years of war. Long time Viceroy of India and later member of Neville Chamberlain's cabinet in the Munich days, the tall, gaunt Halifax was a target of the wrath of the English people who wanted no more Munichs and let it be known. He has, nevertheless, in these last years served the United Nations coalition in Washington. He has smoothed out many a rough spot in the inevitable conflicts that have accompanied the friendship of the two greatest capitalist powers of the world and goes to the Golden Gate in the confidence that the coalition will endure.

The chief Laborite representative from Prime Minister Churchill's coalition government is an M.P. for the Limehouse district of London, the *Rt. Hon. Clement Attlee*. Though he has been active in the British Labor Party since 1907 he is, like many other members of his party, from the middle class, with an Oxford education. He claims William Morris and John Ruskin as his political inspiration. For a period he was lecturer in social science at the London School of Economics. He served in the Ramsay MacDonald government and has since that time served as opposition leader in Parliament, and Deputy Prime Minister.

The British delegation also includes one of the most colorful figures in English political life, the *Rt. Hon. Ellen Wilkinson*, M.P. from Jarrow, a shipbuilding town which suffered in the general bitter depression of industrial England after the last world war. Herself the daughter of a mill worker, she was a vigorous partisan for her constituents, and her militant battles for them earned for her the epithet of "That Wilkinson Woman," from the lips of many an unreconstructed Tory. She spoke in Germany against Nazism, a year after Hitler came to power. During the war she has served in the Ministry of Home Security and won the title of "Shelter Queen" in her work for food and housing for bombed Londoners.

The rest of the British delegation includes *George Tom-*

linson, M.P. and former president of the weavers union and a co-worker of Labor Minister Ernest Bevin, *Viscount Cranborne*, former Colonial Secretary and now Secretary for the Dominions, the *Rt. Hon. Florence Horsbrugh* from the Ministry of Health, whose wartime tasks included the evacuation of 1,200,000 children from danger areas,



Minister of Finance, Rene Plevin, and Minister of Health, Francois Billoux, of the French delegation.

*William Mabane* from the Ministry of Food, and *Dingle Foote*, M.P. from Dundee, from the Ministry of Economic Warfare.

**For the USSR:** One of the central figures of the San Francisco Conference will be the USSR's Foreign Commissar, *Vyacheslav Molotov*, on whose shoulders will fall the task of disentangling some of the as yet unsolved differences among the three major powers. A man of both prodigious ability and achievements, he is a young (age 55) "Old Bolshevik." He has worked in the closest association with Joseph Stalin since pre-Revolutionary days when both edited the underground *Pravda*. His memory is legendary, and much of the great economic strength which permitted the Soviet Union to withstand the Nazi assault of the summer of 1941 can be laid to his organizing ability. He played a major role in the collectivization of Soviet farming, in working out of the Five Year plans, and the new 1935 Constitution. Premier from 1930 to 1941, he became head of the Foreign Commissariat in the critical year of 1939. He worked to raise Soviet industrial and military strength to the utmost. An eight-page testimonial in *Pravda* once observed that he "combined Russian revolutionary ability with American efficiency."

*Andrei A. Gromyko* has some claim to being the youngest ambassador ever to be accredited to the United States. He has worked so quietly and with so little public show that the American people hardly know him. He is, however, an extremely able, thorough specialist in American and international affairs. He is a graduate of the Moscow Institute of Economics, lectured at the Russian Academy of Sciences, and spent a year in charge of the American section of the Foreign Commissariat. In 1939 he came to the USA as counselor at the Soviet Embassy. Since then he has served as *charge d'affaires* at the Soviet Embassy and as Minister to Cuba. That he is considered one of the most responsible of the Soviet diplomats explains his participation as one of the Soviet's representatives at Yalta.

Although no labor delegates as such were appointed to the San Francisco Conference, world labor will have a distinguished figure speaking for it in the person of *Vassily*

*Kuznetsov*, chairman of the Presidium of the Central Council of the Soviet trade unions, and elected one of the presidents of the World Trade Union Conference recently held in London. A former steelworker who rose to head the Soviet steelworkers union, he is no stranger to the USA, having been sent by the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry to study metallurgy at Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh, where he took a master's degree in engineering. He has been on the Commissariat of Ferrous Metallurgy and the State Planning Commission of the USSR, and on his return from America became head of the *Elekrostal* Plant laboratory. With all his technical work and scientific work—he was awarded the Stalin prize for developing and introducing production of new grades of steel—he carried on active trade union work simultaneously as the elected representative of the steel union's central committee.

Also included in the Soviet delegation are the heads of both the British and American sections of the Foreign Commissariat, *K. V. Novikov* and *S. K. Tsarapkin*, and *A. S. Sobolev*, Balkan expert who was at Dumbarton Oaks, *A. I. Lavrentyev*, deputy Foreign Commissar, and two distinguished scholars in the field of international law and international relations, *B. Krylov* and *S. A. Golunsky*.

**For France:** The chief figure in the French delegation to the conference is a former president of the great French National Resistance Council (CNR) which played so large a part in restoring France to the rank of a first class power, *Georges Bidault*, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Before the war Bidault was a professor of history in a Paris lycee, and foreign editor of the Catholic daily, *L'Aube*. He was a leader in the Popular Democratic Party, which embraces sections of France's Catholic middle class and working class. Bidault took an active part in the French Resistance, publishing the underground *Bulletin de la France Combattante* in Lyon. Elected president of the CNR in August 1943, he took a leading part in the formulation of the National Resistance program of March 15, 1944, which planned the national uprising and wrote a charter for post-Liberation economy. He was one of the negotiators of the French-Soviet pact and the economic agreements with Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

*Rene Plevin*, France's Minister of Finance, and since the resignation of *Mendes-France*, also of National Economy, joined the de Gaulle group in London in June 1940. His role in the de Gaulle government prior to his becoming Minister of Finance was concerned chiefly with colonial affairs. He was sent to help reorganize the economy of French East Africa. In London in 1941, he became the new French National Committee's Commissioner for Economy, Finance and the Colonies.



T. V. Soong, Minister of Foreign Affairs for China, head of the Chinese delegation.

Named Commissioner for the Colonies also when the Algiers Committee was established, he took part in the Brazzaville Conference which drew up plans for French colonial reform, and became

**Participants:** In addition to the four governments—United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China—sponsoring the United Nations Conference on International Organization, the following governments have been invited to participate: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, El Salvador, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Union of South Africa, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Minister for Colonies when the Provisional Government returned to Paris in August 1944. He succeeded to the Ministry of Finance on the death of Aime Lepereq.

*Francois Billoux*, Minister of Public Health, was one of the first Communists to become a member of the Provisional Government at the time when representation was widened to include the major Resistance groups. He had been Communist deputy from Marseilles, elected in 1936, and was one of twenty-seven Communist deputies condemned to prison in April 1940. He was liberated from the *Maison Carre* at Algiers by General Giraud in 1943. On his liberation he became secretary of the delegation from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of North Africa and a member of the Consultative Assembly. Having played a major role in the Committee of National Liberation, he was appointed Minister of Public Health in September 1944, where he faces the tough job of helping to rebuild a nation starved, ill and decimated from four years of occupation.

Former Premier *Jean Paul-Boncour*, Socialist-Republican, who served as Foreign Minister in the short-lived Blum government, is also a member of the French delegation. He was one of those who voted against granting full powers to Petain in the crucial July 1940 vote, which the Provisional French Government set up as the test of patriotism in reorganizing the government and the Consultative Assembly. He is chairman of the French commission for the study of the Dumbarton Oaks plan and a present member of the Consultative Assembly.

Ambassador to the USA *Henri Bonnet*, *Paul Emile Nagiar*, career diplomat, who represented France at the Pacific Relations Conference at Hot Springs, and who was ambassador to Moscow in 1938, *Jules Basdevant*, a prominent French jurist, and two military representatives complete the French delegation.

**For China:** Soong Tse-vung, or *T. V. Soong*, as he has been called throughout the Western world since his Harvard days, will head China's delegation as Foreign Minister. The brother of Mme. Sun Yat-sen, Mme. H. H. Kung and Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, he has been a personal link in China's turbulent political struggles, since the death of Sun Yat-sen, between the Kuomintang and the democratic northwest, which carried on in Sun's tradition. One of the more liberal members of the Kuomintang inner circle, to which he recently returned, he made his name as a financial wizard. He took part in the establishment of the National Government, modernized China's bank and abolished her internal tariff barriers, established a central bank and unified her currency.

It was *T. V. Soong* who signed the declaration of

the United Nations for China in 1942. He has handled the loans to China throughout the eight years she has been at war with Japan, and managed China's lend-lease. He was at the Roosevelt-Churchill meeting in Quebec in August 1943. Soong represents the chief Chinese bourgeois financial circles interested in driving the Japanese from China.

*Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo* is a long-time familiar figure on the international scene, whose diplomatic missions began in 1916 when he was first appointed Minister to the United States. He attended the 1919 Peace Conference, became the chief Chinese delegate to the League of Nations, attended the Disarmament Conference and the London Economic Conference in 1933. He has been China's Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Minister to France, to Mexico, and is now Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Last year he headed the Chinese delegation to Dumbarton Oaks.

*Tung Pi-wu*, of the People's Political Council, China's wartime parliament, will be the only Communist delegate in the Chinese mission. A leading member of the Chinese Communist Party since the days when, in Japan, he joined the *Tung Men Hui*, a revolutionary predecessor of the Kuomintang, he comes from Hupeh, and was one of the eleven delegates to the first meeting of the Communist Party in Shanghai in 1921.

Other representatives who have made major contributions to the new China are former US Ambassador *Dr. Hu Shih*, the founder of China's "Literary Renaissance" movement of the twenties and one of the chief proponents of China's important language reforms; *Miss Wu Yi-fang*, president of Ginling college for women and *Li Huang*, one of the founders of China's Youth Party—also members of the People's Political Council, along with *Dr. Carson Chang*, Socialist and specialist in political affairs. Two members of the Supreme National Defense Council also are part of the Chinese delegation: *Dr. Wang Chung-hui*, a jurist who accompanied Chiang Kai-shek to Cairo in 1943, and *Dr. Wei Tao-ming*, secretary general of the Executive Yuan.



"I've been waiting for you, Liebchen."



## REVIEW and COMMENT

# THE LONG ROAD TO PEACE

By ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

IF OUR human past seems to be a dreary record of stubbornly maintained hostility and wars it is partly because written history has dealt with little else. Only recently, and largely through indirect Marxist influence, has the interplay of social, economic and cultural change become a content of history, in which, as it is investigated, we discern ever more clearly a tireless drive toward human unity.

Associations of nations for peace, we find, are of great antiquity. The first of which there is historical record was formed over three thousand years ago when in the fourteenth century B.C. the Pharaoh, Ikhnaton, granted autonomy to the components of the Egyptian Empire. This political innovation, too little noticed by historians, was part of a great social transformation. It manifested itself most decisively in religion, for in ancient Egypt, even more than in Europe of the Reformation, social authority had religious forms. The new consciousness of universality was made concrete in the establishment of a monotheistic religion with the sun as the sole god. Literature was vivified and produced the first Egyptian hymns worthy of preservation among the world's sacred writings; and Egyptian painting and sculpture broke out of their mummifying conventions and became freer and more realistic.

In whatever other culture we look back we see similar drives. Chinese classical literature is full of assertions of human brotherhood and condemnation of war. Indeed its poetry has been called the poetry of pacifism, of which this passage from the poet Tsa Sung will give the flavor: "Do not let me hear talk of titles and promotions; each general's reputation is made out of 10,000 corpses."

Similarly in Hindu culture, Buddhism and the Jain religion are more deeply pacific even than Christianity. Only in St. Francis of Assisi, who included birds and beasts in the community of life, did Christianity approach the "ahimsa" doctrine which condemns violence to anything living.

In Western culture the drive for peace and human brotherhood appears in its two major strains in the Hebrew prophets culminating in Jesus, and in Greek rationalism. There it is to be seen not only in the philosophy but in the epics and history. It is significant that Greek literature, which deals so largely with war, was so distinctively tragic that the word "tragedy" has become organically associated with it. It is not straining the point to read in this a judgment upon war.

This mood of Greek classic literature is well expressed by Homer himself in the following passage from the *Odyssey* where, it should be observed, the theme of the vengeance of the gods is an early

perception of justice, foreshadowing its more developed ideals.

*The great gods are never pleased  
With violent deeds; they honor  
equity  
and justice. Even those who land  
as foes  
and spoilers upon foreign shores  
and bear  
away much plunder by the will of  
Jove,  
returning homeward with their  
laden barks  
Feel, brooding heavily upon their  
minds,  
The fear of vengeance.*

As treated in Greek literature the destruction of Troy became a tragedy for the conquerors. Many perished in the ten-year siege; numbers of the survivors met with shameful deaths on their return; and the loot of the ravaged city went to the bottom of the sea. No wonder that a literature founded on such a theme grew from implicit to explicit consciousness of human unity. It is that, in Euripides, for which contemporary critics remark on his "modernity."

In Greek history we find conscious recognition of the two choices that mankind faces: the peace of free peoples in association, or the peace of subjection to an empire. It was as an association of free states that the Greeks beat back the Persian Empire. It was their failure to achieve an equal unity against Macedon and Rome that caused their fall.

A tremendous anti-war agitation virtually forced a truce in the Peloponnesian war between Athens and Sparta. The chief literary relics of that agitation are Aristophanes' comedies, *Peace* and *Lysistrata*. Thucydides' great history of that war is suffused with the consciousness of its tragedy.

In the work of the later historians Plutarch and Polybius, particularly the latter, who review Greek history against the background of the vaster struggles of the empires of Alexander's successors and Carthage and Rome, there is the heavy-hearted recognition of the Greek failure to unite; and there is resigned

### Biographer of the GI's

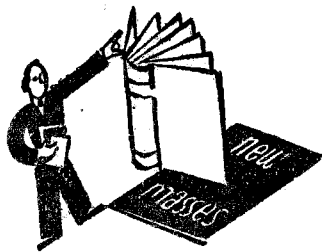
When the war opened, who could have foretold that a reporter on a roving assignment, known for dispatches that read like letters to the home folks, would become the great American writer of the war?

On April 18 came the last letter home. It was not written by Pyle. It was the dreaded official kind from the War Department. Specifically it came from the commanding officer on Ie Jima: "I regret to report that war correspondent Ernie Pyle, who made such a great contribution to the morale of our foot soldier, was killed in the battle of Ie Jima today." He had died in an advance battle position, by the bullet of a Japanese sniper.

For Pyle the most affecting newspaper story of his life, and the one that had a decisive part in the making of his own career, was a report of the burial of the Unknown Soldier of the last war. It has been his achievement to speak for the Unknown Soldier of this war—and to make him known. In this he has left a heritage for literature, a human document of the greatest importance to historians, and the best of the monuments that will be raised to the ordinary GI—and a noble memorial to himself.

NM May 1, 1945

23



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awe before the irresistible growth of Rome which fed on such failures.

But it was not a blind failure, as Greek political life, as well as the other aspects of its culture, indicated. No less than eight leagues of Greek states attempted to give political form to what was so brilliantly perceived in its literature. None, however, outgrew the stature of a regional federation and their rivalries were adroitly used by both Macedon and Rome in the classic divide-and-rule strategy of empire.

With the expansion of Rome imperial power became so entrenched that the striving for human unity took nonpolitical directions. Religions of human brotherhood—at first Christianity was but one of several—spread over the Mediterranean world. From then on its expression was in the mystical “City of God.” Later the Papacy, as it became a temporal power, took on political aims and came in conflict with attempts to reestablish empire in the feudal world. These attempts made use of the idealization of the Roman Empire as an actual unification of mankind that was a part of the Renaissance rediscovery—and overvaluation—of the past. Dante’s *De Monarchia* put forth this view.

One of the effects of the Reformation and the emergence of the European national states was the secularization of the quest for human unity. With the appearance of the projects of Erasmus the problem is stripped of mysticism. From then on the plans for international co-operation, even for Utopias, and the satires in which world views were implied, use political terminology. Their authors include many of the greatest minds of Europe and later of America—philosophers, jurists, scientists, writers, religious leaders, statesmen.

Of the direct plans for international associations for peace the most influential were those of Grotius, whose proposal became a foundation of the Hague Tribunal and the Geneva Convention; of the Abbe St. Pierre, on whose plan might have been based an Eighteenth Century League of Nations but for the opposition of the Prussian King, Frederick; and de Bloch’s proposal, published in Russia in 1898, which led the Czar to summon the first World Peace Conference at the Hague.

In the nineteenth century, the striving assumed a mass character. Peace societies, the first of which was established in 1815 in America, had a tremendous growth on this continent and in Europe. Even more powerful and decisive was

the orientation toward peace and internationalism of the expanding labor movement and its political parties. Their combined agitation prompted arbitration pacts and other international agreements and prodded governments to take the initiative in world peace conferences. Disraeli was impelled to propose one, which was again frustrated by Prussia, but a world peace conference with most governments represented was finally achieved in 1899.

With the dismal offset of two world wars in the last forty years we may be inclined to disparage the achievements of the century between the Napoleonic wars and the First World War. But these achievements were many and fundamental. They included the foundation of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent, the Geneva Convention, the Hague Tribunal, the Pan-American Union, numbers of arbitration pacts, and treaties covering trade, patents, copyrights, scientific observation, conservation, and interchange. Their volume and importance is so great that a new profession arose, that of international law, courses in which are now in the curricula of virtually all universities.

All wars previously have proved setbacks to internationalism, and the First World War the greatest setback of all. The postwar disillusion extended to suspicion of all governments and institutions. With an influence almost like that of the age of the enlightenment, literature became a force against the powers that be, with militarism and imperialism as its chief targets. This no doubt contributed to postwar cynicism, but it must always be borne in mind that the writers themselves were not cynical. Internationally, under the leadership of Barbusse, Rolland and Gorky and, here, in the League of American Writers, they were among the foremost in resuming the struggle in its critical anti-fascist stages.

Even more important, nothing could counterbalance the enormous gain of the establishment of the Soviet Union, itself the largest federation of nationalities in history and committed, in its foreign policy, to world peace. By a historical irony that policy had to wait for fulfillment in a war alliance; but it is by virtue of this very fact that we may confidently anticipate a substantial advance in the international accord now being completed at San Francisco. It is safe to predict that except for the defeated remnants of fascism, open and concealed, the diehard reactionaries, the

psychopaths and the pacifist zealots who would take the human future in one stride, we will not, this time, have a postwar disillusion.

## Across the Pacific

AMERICA'S FAR EASTERN POLICY, by T. A. Bisson. Institute of Pacific Relations; distributed by Macmillan. \$3.

IT is all to the good that the American market is now being amply provided with books on the Far East. For one of the serious handicaps with which we entered this global war was the absence of a large, informed public on the problems of war and peace across the Pacific. In specialized fields this was reflected in an extreme scarcity of language students and a relative paucity of experts in the economy, society and political organization of our Asiatic allies and of our enemy, Japan. More generally we suffered, and still do, from the same sort of strangeness with regard to the Chinese and other Asiatic peoples that a few years ago played such havoc in our relations with the Soviet Union.

This situation has immeasurably improved during the course of the war. I dare say that four or five years ago a Lin Yutang would have succeeded in putting across most of his rotten propaganda on a gullible American public. Today he has in large part failed because we are better fortified with knowledge. In the more academic category of books the Institute of Pacific Relations must be given a good share of credit for making available penetrating studies pertinent to the war and the postwar era in the Far East. Such volumes as *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State*, by E. Herbert Norman, *The Chinese Army*, by Major (now Colonel) Evans Fordyce Carlson, *Industrialization of the Western Pacific*, by Kate L. Mitchell and *The Soviet Far East and Central Asia*, by William Mandel, all sponsored by this organization, are indispensable sources to the specialist and the layman.

The newest volume in the Institute of Pacific Relations series is *America's Far Eastern Policy*, by T. A. Bisson, who is one of the most astute Western students of the Far Eastern scene. His text is brief, 163 pages, and to it he has added sixty-five pages of essential diplomatic documents, thus bringing together in a moderate sized book both an analysis of a crucial aspect of the Far Eastern problem and many of the sources upon which that analysis is based.

It is evident that not only the efficient and complete winning of the war against

## What to Read on San Francisco

SEVERAL people have asked us for a listing of material which would be of use in discussions about the San Francisco meeting of the United Nations. The following are a few suggestions:

*Teheran*, by Earl Browder (International Publishers). A must book for an understanding of the fundamentals of the peace.

*America's Decisive Battle*, by Earl Browder (New Century). To be read with *Teheran*.

*The Super-Powers*, by William T. R. Fox (Harcourt, Brace). Read critically, this small volume makes many good observations on the special responsibility for the peace of Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union.

*The Great Decision*, by James T. Shotwell (Macmillan). An informative study with a valuable appendix on the place of this country in a world organization.

*World Economic Development*, by Eugene Staley (International Labor Office, Montreal). An excellent document on the economic aspects of lasting peace.

*World Cooperation and Postwar Prosperity*, by James S. Allen (New Century). A splendid pamphlet popularly written on the future economic stakes of world organization.

*US Foreign Policy*, by Walter Lippmann (Little, Brown). Lippmann's defense of the nuclear alliance.

*Angels Could Do It Better: The Story of Dumbarton Oaks*, by Joseph

Japan but also future security in the Far East require a far more realistic and constructive policy on the part of the United States than that which it haphazardly pursued during the previous century. Yet a new policy, or a revamped one, will not emerge out of a vacuum. It must come from the particular situation with which it has to deal and that situation will be a derivative of the past. The value of Mr. Bisson's book is that it scrutinizes the history of our Far Eastern policy in the light of the new problems which are emerging as a result of the war. He writes about the history of our policy with a view to illuminating the problems we face today and will face tomorrow.

If one takes the liberty of picking a central theme out of a book which is not, however, written around a specific thesis it would, in the case of Mr. Bis-

Gaer (American Labor Party, 8 W. 40, N. Y. 18). An excellent pamphlet.

*After Victory*, by Vera Micheles Dean (Foreign Policy Association). Questions and answers on world organization.

*The Time for Decision*, by Sumner Welles (Harper). A valuable study, to be read critically, of the factors that lead to war and those that make for peace.

*An Intelligent American's Guide to the Peace*, edited by Sumner Welles (Dryden Press). A useful reference study of the stakes in the peace of every country in the world.

The following are useful official publications and are available by writing to the Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. or, if free, from the agency named:

*The United Nations: Dumbarton Oaks Proposals for a General International Organization* (text with pictorial chart). State Department Publication 2297. Free.

*Wall Chart* in two colors, with illustrations, showing proposed structure and functions of United Nations Organization. State Department Pub. 2280. Free.

*The Bretton Woods Proposals*. Treasury Department. Free.

*UNRRA: Organization, Aims, Progress*. United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Free.

*Toward the Peace—Documents*. State Department Publication 2298. 15c.

son's volume, be this: "The current determination of the American people to play their full part in establishing a firm world security organization is grounded on the realization that war came essentially because the collective action needed to prevent it on the part of Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union was not achieved." The body of the volume is concerned with a penetrating account of United States policy, first during the two critical war periods of 1895-1905 and 1914-1922 and then with the decade of appeasement, 1931-1941.

The most interesting part of Mr. Bisson's study is to be found in the final chapter on "Aspects of Postwar Policy" because here he is dealing with new material on which there has so far been very little public discussion. In his introductory chapter the author has suggested

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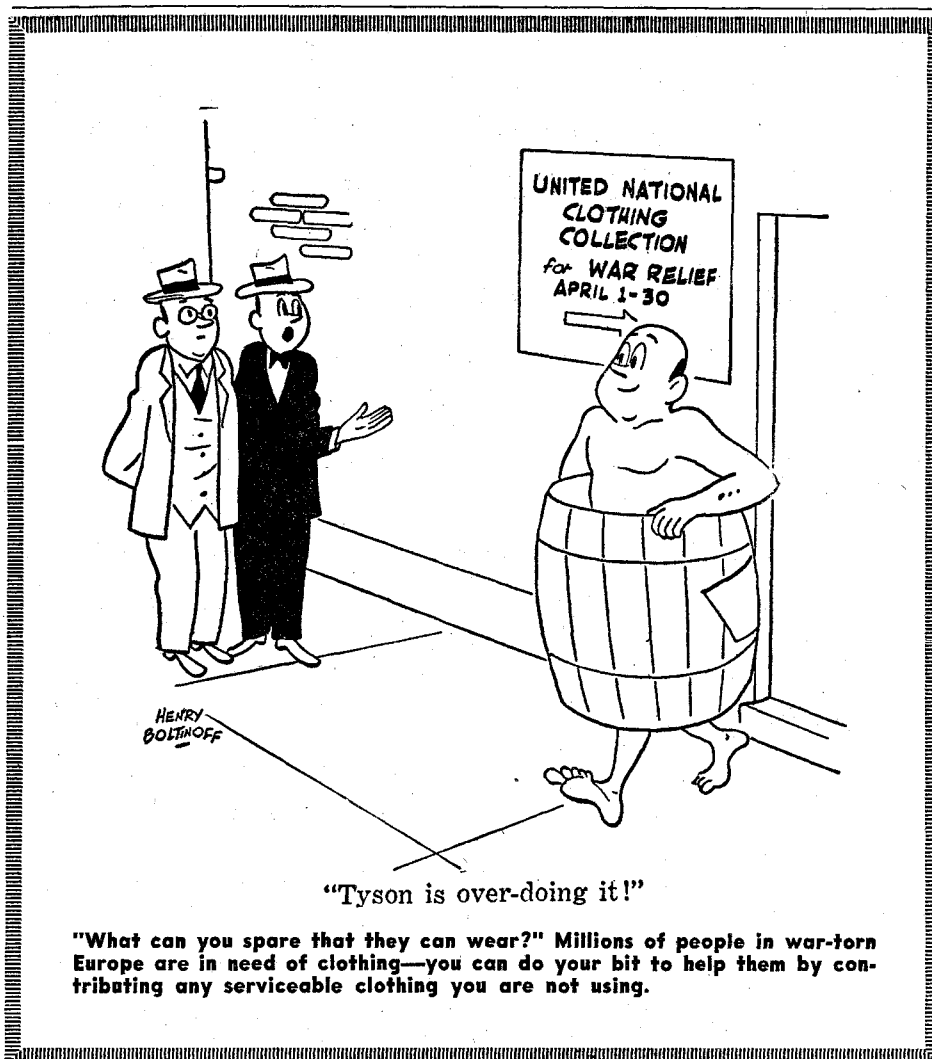
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three vast changes which are taking place in the Far East before our eyes. The first one, obviously enough, is the reduction of Japan from the most powerful Far Eastern nation to the stature of a third-rate power. The eclipse of our enemy will in itself bring about a drastic change in the relationship of forces in eastern Asia. Second, our ally China, in spite of the efforts of certain of its leaders to the contrary, is growing stronger and more independent. The future holds for China a position of leadership in sharp contrast to its century-old status of feudalism and colonialism. Third, China's emergence will in itself provide a powerful impetus for the colonial peoples of Asia to win their own liberation. Each of these factors is discussed at the conclusion of the book as problems which call for the most intelligent and forward-looking policies on the part of the United Nations leaders.

The problems arise from the fact that these three historic developments will not find ultimate solution until conflicts and contradictions which impede their fulfillment are removed or resolved. For instance, while there is common agreement upon the unconditional military defeat of Japan, there is a vast area of dispute covering the disposition to be made of Japan's basic aggressive and fascist institutions. Mr. Bisson takes a drastic view of what has to be done with the Imperial institution and with the Zaibatsu (financial-industrial monopolies), two members of the trinity which, with the third—the military—he regards as guilty of the crime of war. Or to take the example of China, the promise of full independence and of rapid economic reconstruction and of leadership will prove illusory unless the nation can become unified around a democratic program and a responsive government.

For more than three years we have correctly been preoccupied with the job of smashing Hitlerism; the American people, while enthusiastically applauding the heroic feats of their armed forces in the Pacific, have devoted little effort to studying the tremendous political and economic problems with which they will be increasingly confronted in that area. With the war in Europe reaching its final stages, it is high time that we began to dig seriously into the complicated pattern of the Far East. Mr. Bisson's *America's Far Eastern Policy* provides one of the links in the chain of information that must be forged if we are to apply to the Far East the intelligence and judgment that that situation demands.

FREDERICK V. FIELD.



**7<sup>TH</sup> war loan**



## SIGHTS and SOUNDS

# IN THE WORLD OF ART

By MOSES SOYER

**T**HE recent exhibition of Picasso at the Buchholz Gallery has stirred even more than the usual excitement, due, first of all, to the high quality and the elements of surprise always contained in his work; secondly, to the almost hypnotic character of his fame and, finally, to his joining the Communist Party of France.

What can one say about Picasso that has not been said before? A huge library in many tongues exists about him. Picasso himself has written about his art, each time somewhat confounding his apologists and interpreters. Dozens of artists have literally built their life's work around one of his individual paintings. (Many of these little men, by the way, have, since Picasso joined the French Communist Party, suddenly undergone a change of heart. By reversing their arguments they are damning him now for what they formerly idolized him. Thus his inventiveness they call now "artistic instability," and his changes of styles "opportunism.") He has been compared often to a delicate musical instrument attuned to the spirit of our time, whose work reflects its restlessness.

Picasso's paintings, except those of the so-called "blue period" (the dancers, acrobats, Pierrots and the many motherhood pictures), the preparatory drawings for the Guernica mural and the mural itself, cannot to my mind be classified as social, except perhaps in the sense that they have opened new horizons in the esthetics of modern art. Picasso is primarily an inventor. He himself has used the word "inventions" in reference to his paintings. It is therefore regrettable to ascribe, purely on the grounds of Picasso's joining the Communist Party of France, new meanings to his work. For that reason the paragraph in Pfc. Jerome Seckler's article, "Picasso Explains" (NM, March 13), relating to Picasso's painting of a sailor, strikes me as silly. He tells Picasso that he interpreted the picture of the sailor "as a self-portrait—the sailor's suit, the net, the red butterfly, showing Picasso as a person seeking a solution to the problem of the times; trying to find a

better world—the sailor's garb being an indication of an active participation in this effort." Further—"but what of the red butterfly, I [Seckler] asked—didn't you deliberately make it red because of its political significance?" "Not particularly," he replied. "If it has any it was in my subconscious."

My reaction to this interview is the same as Rockwell Kent's. Picasso is apparently a modest and kind man, and the interview all but forced upon him. One therefore cannot attach too much importance to Picasso's answers. After the fall of Paris, magazines and newspapers published news that Picasso had been painting idealized portraits of the French Maquis. One or two have been reproduced in the papers. They resemble curiously his early pictures of the blue period. Perhaps they are an indication of the new Picasso, a socially conscious Picasso, reverting to his earlier, intensely human, emotional and understandable art.

**B**REAKING a long standing rule, the Whitney Museum of Art has opened its doors to a group of thirty-three European artists who in the past seven years have worked in this country. Of this group eight are of French birth, the rest natives of twelve other countries, but all, according to the catalogue note, reached their maturity in pre-war Paris. Many of the exhibitors are well known, their reputations having preceded them.

On entering, one's senses are rudely shocked by the riotous colors and strange forms into which these ultra-sophisticates have transformed the usually somewhat staid museum. One cannot at first but be impressed by the uninhibited display of artistic gymnastics. Each artist tries to outdo his neighbor, to out-sophisticate, to create a sensation. Some are men of talent and wit—Duchamps, Hayter, Masson, Tanguy and others—but to what ends are these gifts employed? To celebrate death, decay, decomposition. They delight in cancerous growths, miasmatic weeds, tumors, unnatural protuberances.

The first experience of novelty and surprise is succeeded by boredom. One finds that the little these artists have to say is already passé. The great world upheaval has touched them not at all. The world is changing but their work continues the decadence of the culturally bankrupt pre-war Europe. As such it is transitory, empty and sterile.

One actually yearns for the more solid performances of the American artists, lacking in sophistication but vital and expressive of our country and our people, and so often criticized and derided. These European artists can teach us but little.

**R**ICHMOND BARTHE's exhibition at the International Print Society Gallery displays a sober and well-educated talent. He is especially good in his portraits, which he does with a fine feeling for character and the inner quality of his sitter. Outstanding are his portraits of Katherine Cornell and a tender study of a Negro child. He is less successful in idealized portraiture. Done on a monumental scale as, for instance, his large head of Abraham Lincoln, which is somewhat sweet and academic, it lacks the qualities one demands of monumental heads intended not so much to be portraits as symbols. Thus the Lincoln head falls quite short when one compares it with his head by George Gray Barnard. (Michelangelo, when a friend criticized his head of Lorenzo di Medici as bearing little resemblance to the subject, replied: "A thousand years hence who will dare to say that it does not resemble Lorenzo di Medici?" Who indeed?) Mr. Barthe is a sincere artist. His output is already significant but it seems to me he will do more important work when he frees himself from a certain tightness and conventionality.

**S**OME three years ago Yasuo Kuniyoshi was honored by the Downtown Gallery with an exhibition of twenty paintings, one for each of the twenty preceding years. The remarkable thing about that exhibition was that when one compared the first painting with the

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last the difference was tremendous. Yet, as one studied the pictures chronologically, the difference was imperceptible and one became aware that the change was not sudden but slow and logical.

A critic writing about contemporaries must be tactful, careful not to be flip-pant and to avoid extremes in praise or disparagement. It is therefore a pleasure to be able to throw off all restraint. Kuniyoshi's show is by far the best he has had to date. What impresses one most in his work is his integrity. His color has grown clearer without losing its subdued richness, and his dreamy, slant-eyed, somewhat morose girls are becoming more human. This is especially evident in his fine painting, "Mother and Daughter," where he composes in a more subjective manner than has been his habit. The gestures of the mother and daughter are carefully thought out and studied. The result is deeply moving and human. It can stand with some of the religious paintings of the past which expressed with only two figures moments of ecstasy, sorrow and maternal love.

IT is unavoidable but it always happens to my regret that between my reviews some first class shows come and go. One was Julian Levi's, whose painting "The Widow" was reproduced in NEW MASSES of April 3. My general impression was that he has not changed greatly either in approach or subject matter. His color has become high in key and clearer, and his forms, if anything, more abstract. In composing he has lately been employing methods which are slightly surrealistic.

Levi is one of our most individual and likable artists. His choice of subject matter, fishermen and women, quiet landscapes, and flotsam and jetsam of the sea, is a reflection of his somewhat melancholy, romantic approach to life and art. His is a slow, painstaking and meticulous worker and his paintings are carefully planned. His work does not startle at first; but one comes away from his exhibitions with a feeling of deep satisfaction.

ANOTHER show which I wanted very much to review was that of Anton Refregier, recently held at the ACA Gallery. In him, too, one observes a steady growth and development. The mural quality is still apparent in some of his larger paintings, but a new and surprising departure for him was a series of small genre pictures of people at work

and at play in picturesque Woodstock, where he has been living for the last few years. They were painted in his characteristically sharp and precise manner. One of the most touching paintings, "They Kept On Asking," was of a saintly, white-bearded old man with a rope around his neck about to be hanged by the Nazis.

The criticism most often heard about Refregier's work was the lack of textural quality in his paintings. Doubtless this could be ascribed to his extensive work on murals but it is atoned greatly by the freshness and outdoor quality of his clear color, good drawing and compositional verve.

WILLIAM GROPPER needs no introduction. One of the greatest American cartoonists, he has long been fighting tirelessly against injustice and hypocrisy. In the last fifteen years he has become widely known also as a painter. As in the case of Daumier, the knowledge of drawing, highly developed visual memory, the ability to translate ideas on paper quickly and directly—qualities acquired in daily cartooning—have served him well.

His first exhibition at the ACA Gallery, then located in Greenwich Village, was immediately acclaimed by the critics as the work of an able and experienced artist. Since then Gropper has held many exhibitions in New York and elsewhere, each time growing in stature.

The present exhibition (his first with the Associated American Artists) consists of more than thirty paintings, most of them, to my knowledge, completed within the past year.

While one notices in this exhibition less than his usual emphasis on the war, the theme finds poignant expression in such pictures as "Home," depicting a lonely, grief-stricken figure standing among the ruins of her home, and "De Profundis," a painting of an old Jew attired in a prayer shawl and phylacteries, his head raised in sorrow toward an El Greco sky, praying for the deliverance of his people.

Lately Gropper has delved deeply into the sources of American history and folklore. This growingly important phase in his work has already resulted in such gay pictures as "Rip Van Winkle" and "Paul Bunyan" and the dramatic "Paul Revere" and "The Headless Horseman."

The exhibition also contains some inimitable ruthless studies of politicians, such as "For the Record" and "The



"Mother and Daughter," oil by Yasuo Kuniyoshi. At the Downtown Gallery.

Isolationist," and a number of pictures dealing with the theater—"Backstage," "The Angel," "A Place in the Sun" and others.

It is a typical Gropper show—intensely alive, full of drama, trenchant observation, exuberance. One of the pictures, "Master and Pupil," depicts an old, grey-bearded artist, resembling Leonardo Da Vinci, standing, with a troubled expression, in front of his canvas. Behind him stands a grimacing young man, making derogatory gestures. This picture is reproduced in the catalogue with the following legend: "There are among today's artists those extreme moderns who show only contempt and ridicule for the academic craftsmanship of the old masters. Their clan is fast becoming an academy of its own. In time, another generation of youngsters will hold the same contempt for them."

Gropper need not fear. His work, so vividly recording our time, will live longer than the work of the highly praised and much sought after exponents of art-for-art's-sake.

MR. JOHN VICKERY, a noted Australian artist, has just returned from a Pacific tour of eight months of sketching wounded soldiers in overseas hospitals and in forward combat areas. He has completed more than 650 drawings. The knowledge that the sketch was going to the folks at home proved a real GI morale builder. I have seen some of the drawings; they are more than good likenesses.

Mr. Vickery is only one of many artists of the USO Camp Shows' hospital sketching program. The original drawing, with positive and negative photostatic copies, is forwarded to the

man's family, so that relatives can have as many copies made as they wish. More than 14,000 originals and copies have been sent to American families already.

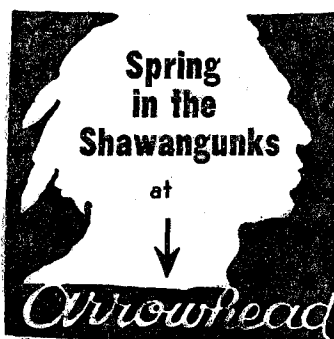
THE Society of Medallists announce proudly their thirtieth issue by Mahonri M. Young, sculptor. Mr. Young says: "When I was asked to make designs for the medal I was troubled by the number of things I wanted to do. After rejecting subjects from the ring, Indian life, etc., I settled on one of my first loves—labor."

It is a beautiful medal. It represents riggers on one side and riveters on the other. The figures of the workers are modelled with great simplicity in the realistic manner for which Mr. Young is justly famous.

## Zoya

ZOYA KOSMODEMYANSKAYA, eighteen-year-old Soviet girl guerrilla murdered by the Nazis early in the war, has become one of the flaming folk-legends of the Patriotic War. Her story, as told on the screen at the Stanley, lacks epic quality. It is quieter in key than such films as *Rainbow*, *No Greater Love* and *We Will Come Back*, which, like *Zoya*, deal with love of country and resistance to the invader. Yet it has a compelling strength of its own. One gets the impression that the producers, knowing that the exploits of the Soviet people have become the common knowledge of the whole democratic world, decided this time to explain the social forces that moulded such people.

Accordingly, the life of Zoya is shown in retrospect. As she grows up she grasps the meaning of Soviet life and its limitless possibilities. She sees newsreel shots of the Spanish War (incidentally the first ever shown on the American screen), and its meaning relates for her the Soviet Union to the rest of the world. Later, through her teacher, she discovers the facts of fascism and war and, most important, that war is indivisible; and that since her country was the antithesis of fascism, her life as a free human being was bound up with that of her country. It was only to be expected that when it was invaded, her first act would be to join a guerrilla detachment behind the Nazi lines. Her mother understands the risks, yet lets her go. For in Soviet life there is no separation of textbook ideals from practice. It is the clear exposition of this factor of



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Soviet life that gives *Zoya* its strength, and makes astonishingly plausible, in film terms, the acts of heroism.

There is, however, one noticeable fault in the structure of the film. Because *Zoya* was not merely a movie heroine, but existed as well in life, only those events bearing on and leading up to her fateful choice seem to have been selected for her screen biography. Thus a kind of self-consciousness has crept into the film. This, while in itself not damagingly serious, could probably have been dismissed as a concomitant of the flashback method, had it not been exaggerated by an English narration attached to the film in this country. By its use, an annoying oversimplification of motive guides all *Zoya's* decisions. No act, no impulse, but that it must contribute to the final mould of the hero. In effect by its endless and predetermined explanation of every act, it rewrites the picture. At times it shoulders the actors and the original dialogue aside altogether. At such times the sound track is deadened, and its actors, reduced to pantomime, serve merely as characters for an illustrated lecture. For myself, I resented this intrusion on the film, this refusal to allow the film and the actors to tell their own story.

Howard Fast wrote the narrative, but I seriously doubt that he had anything to do with the original idea or the effects of the narration upon the film itself.

The music score by Dmitri Shostakovich suffers the same fate as the original dialogue: that is, it is faded out to play up the narrator's voice. What snatches you are permitted to hear sound tantalizingly effective, but what it is, in totality, I have no way of knowing.

The acting is, as usual, first rate. Galina Vodianitskaya, a newcomer to the Soviet screen, is a beautiful, sensitive and intelligent *Zoya*. JOSEPH FOSTER.

## Notes on Music

A PACKED and enthusiastic house, which contributed more than \$5,000, attended the recent concert of new Russian music sponsored by *Russky Golos* for the benefit of the orphans of Stalingrad. The list of participants was impressive: S/Sgt. Eugen List, soloist in the Shostakovich Piano Concerto; Lawrence Tibbett, Maria Kurenko, and the Russian Choral Society led by Lan Adomian; the orchestra under Leonard Bernstein; and Capt. Sergei Kournakoff, who made an address.

Aside from the older works, such as

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Contents of the  
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### SCANDINAVIA: THE DILEMMA OF THE MIDDLE WAY

Margaret Schlauch

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Russel B. Nye

### ENGLISH REACTIONS TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Samuel Bernstein

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the Shostakovich piece and Prokofieff's *Classical Symphony* and some new songs beautifully sung by Maria Kurenko, the outstanding composition of the evening was the *Second Symphony* of Khachaturian, given its first performance in this country. Even though this was relegated to last place and, because of the inordinate length of the program, was played at a late hour, both conductor and performers were in good fettle, and the audience highly appreciative. This symphony of Khachaturian's is massive and vigorous. Its main themes are avowedly in the romantic tradition of the last century, with an admixture of oriental flavoring, and its sonorous orchestration is distinctly reminiscent of Rimsky-Korsakov, especially in the use of the brasses. However, it seems to me orchestrally overweighted, with the composer's predilection for *forte* effects tending to submerge the frequently lovely lyrical passages. Mr. Bernstein's interpretation displayed understanding and conviction and the orchestra responded well to the severe demands made upon it.

**W**HAT to hear in New York: Until April 29, opera, New York City Center. . . April 27, Vivian Rivkin, Carnegie Hall. . . April 29, Marian Anderson, Metropolitan. . . Cuban-American Music Group, Museum of Modern Art.

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## Records

**V**ICTOR presents an unusual, and to my mind exciting work, in Berlioz' *Harold in Italy* (Victor 11-1756-8760; 10 sides, 12 inch). The Boston Symphony under Koussevitsky is excellent; and the recording clear and precise. William Primrose plays the solo viola part with feeling and technical expertness. Ostensibly built on Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Berlioz' beautiful poem is really an evocation of and reflection on the Byronic mood, and related to the poem only through kinship of feeling and thinking rather than of theme. In many ways this is an epitome of Berlioz' romanticism; and the four movements ("Harold in the Mountains," "March of the Pilgrims," "Serenade," "Orgy of the Brigands") compress the best of Berlioz' exquisite orchestral mastery within restrained emotional compass. Through the various passages, Childe Harold sings his sweet, sad and lonesome way in the beautiful viola passages which fall to the happy lot of Primrose.

F. E.

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